DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 038 537 VT 010 876

AUTHOR	Studt, Elliot
TITLE	A Conceptual Approach to Teaching Materials: Illustrations from the Field of Corrections.
INSTITUTION	Council on Social Work Education, New York, N.Y.
PUB DATE	Mar 65
NOTE	231p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Council on Social Work Education, 345 East 46th Street, New York, New York 10017 ($4.00)
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF-$1.00 HC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	Annotated Bibliographies, *Case Studies, *Concept Teaching, *Correctional Education, Correctional Rehabilitation, Criminals, Delinquents, Institutionalized (Persons), *Manuals, Social Work, Teaching Techniques, *Unit Plan

ABSTRACT

This teaching manual, which was developed by a specialist in corrections, contains three teaching units based on a conceptual approach to a field of social work practice. Three variables--social problem, social task, and service system--determine the nature of a field of social work practice. Teaching Unit I, The Problem in Social Functioning, focuses on the social problem variable, while Teaching Unit II, The Role of the Person to be Served, and Teaching Unit III, Treatment Decision-Making, focus on aspects of the service system variable. Each teaching unit contains an introduction detailing the concepts illustrated in that unit and the propositions that relate those concepts, followed by an annotation of selected references and several case studies illustrating the concepts. Appended are a report and summary of the Arrowhead Conference, which brought together 25 social work educators to review provisional versions of the three teaching units. (SB)

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A CONCEPTUAL APPROACH TO TEACHING MATERIALS

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VT 010 876

A CONCEPTUAL APPROACH

No. 65-96-6
Price: $4.00

TO TEACHING MATERIALS:

ILLUSTRATIONS FROM THE FIELD OF CORRECTIONS

by ELLIOT STUDT

COUNCIL ON SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION
345 East 46th Street, New York, N. Y. 10017

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Library of Congress Catalog Number 65-18971

Sponsored by a Training Grant from the Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, Welfare Administration, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, in cooperation with the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime.

Printed in the United States of America by
Sowers Printing Company, Lebanon, Pennsylvania

Foreword

The Council on Social Work Education presents with pride and satisfaction this new publication, *A Conceptual Approach to Teaching Materials: Illustrations from the Field of Corrections,* which marks a significant advance in the continuing effort of the social work profession to construct its own body of professional knowledge.

The practice theory explicated in this volume comes primarily from the field of corrections, but it will be immediately evident to the reader that the concepts selected by Dr. Studt delineate the dimensions by which virtually any other field of practice may be understood and taught. The concepts themselves and "vignettes of action," as Dr. Studt calls them, together constitute a fresh and imaginative approach to the communication of professional knowledge and to the use of teaching materials.

Through the materials reproduced here, social work educators can truly engage in concept-centered teaching which, to borrow Bruner's phrasing in *The Process of Education,"* should not only take us somewhere but should allow us later to go further more easily." In this manner, optimum transfer of learning can take place which will not only help the student to attain the "level of competence necessary for responsible entry into professional practice" but will also "serve as a basis for a creative and productive professional career"—two key objectives of the *1962 Curriculum Policy Statement.*

The Council on Social Work Education expresses its special gratitude to the Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare for providing the funds to carry through this project; to the author of the materials, Dr. Elliot Studt; to the School of Social Welfare at the University of California in Berkeley for serving as host to the project and providing many related services; and to all those teachers, practitioners, clients, and agencies who, at one point or another, contributed so generously to bringing the project to a successful conclusion.

Katherine A. Kendall
Executive Director

New York, New York
March, 1965

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Introduction

ANY BODY of teaching materials represents the devoted work of many individuals and agencies. Some of those to whom most appreciation should be expressed must remain anonymous: the individuals who reveal their problems and life experiences in the case stories; the social workers who prepared the materials; and the agencies who submitted their operations to scrutiny in the hope that, through this contribution, knowledge and education might become more focused and realistic. Our thanks to these persons and organizations can be expressed only in the effort to present their stories with the understanding that the problems they face are common to all of us. In sharing the specifics of their problems and failures with the profession, they help us all learn more about what is necessary to resolve such problems.

This project was sponsored by a training grant from the Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, Welfare Administration, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, in cooperation with the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime. There are, in addition, many others who participated in the preparation of these materials to whom public acknowledgment can also be made. These include:

The Russell Sage Foundation, whose grant to Rutgers, the State University, enabled the writer to develop the diagnostic approach illustrated in Teaching Unit II.

Dr. Katherine A. Kendall, Director of the Council on Social Work Education, and many other Council staff members, who not only tirelessly facilitated the work of the project but also gave valuable intellectual leadership in shaping its course.

The School of Social Welfare, University of California, Berkeley, for housing the project from September 15, 1963, until September 1, 1964, as well as for many generously provided auxiliary services.

The School of Social Welfare, University of California, Los Angeles, for hosting the Arrowhead Conference in which these materials were reviewed.

The State of California Youth and Adult Corrections Agency (Department of Corrections and Department of the Youth Authority), in whose various units many of the cases were prepared.

The Faculty Consultant Group at the University of California, Berkeley, each member of which spent many hours with the writer discussing ideas and editing portions of the materials. This group included: Miss Elizabeth Pfeiffer, Chairman; Dr. J. Scott Briar; Mr. James Jennings; Miss Mary D. Monte; Mrs. Ida Oswald; Miss Dorothy Pettes; Dr. Irving Piliavin; Dr. Hasseltine Taylor; and Dr. Kermit T. Wiltse.

Special note should be taken of the contributions of Mr. James Jennings, School of Social Welfare Field Work Supervisor, who undertook to test the ideas presented herein in work with students in the field; and to Mrs. Ida Oswald, Director of the Project to Develop Social Work Methods Teaching Materials (NIMH Grant # 2M7916 to the School of Social Welfare, University of California, Berkeley), who used the facilities of this project to develop two of the submitted cases (Robert, Case Study #2, Teaching Unit II; and Mrs. Jacks, Vignette #4, Teaching Unit III).

The students in the seminar on "Social Work and the Offender," whose study of the teaching cases proved illuminating to the writer and who prepared the first three decision-making cases in preliminary draft.

The participants of the Arrowhead Conference,[1] whose reflections on an earlier draft of the materials were invaluable to the writer in developing the statement on "Orienting Concepts."

Mrs. Susan Reid, whose active interest in the substance of the project made her contribution that of a collaborator as well as a secretary; and Mrs. Mary Ruebman, whose two months' work as research assistant greatly enriched the bibliographical listings attached to each teaching unit.

Although the contributions of all these persons and organizations were indispensable to the work of the project, they were creative rather than formal in their impact on the final product, and the writer assumes responsibility both for the propositions in the text and for the biases that may appear in the interpretation of the case materials.

This introduction would not be complete without a word about the C Unit program, to which frequent reference is made in the coming pages. C Unit was the name for the living unit in a reformatory that housed the seventeen young men offenders whose stories are told in Teaching Unit I. The Inmate Staff Community Project, based in C Unit, was an action research program funded by NIMH Grant #5-R11-MH-635 and was conducted for the period September 1, 1960, through August 31, 1963. At any one time the participants in this project consisted of 130 inmates, randomly chosen from the total institutional population, together with the staff of counselors and custody officers assigned by the institution to C Unit. The action program was created by inmates and staff together to deal with the problems in social relations that were recognized by all as crucial to the welfare of the C Unit community and its individual members. In the course of program many treatment techniques were utilized. The research program was established to study the problems so identified, the processes for problem resolution that emerged, and the consequences of such activities for the community and the individuals within it. Many of the ideas proposed in the pages to follow were developed or refined in the course of this laboratory experience, and a manuscript, "The Story of C Unit," is in preparation. This forthcoming manuscript will document in more detail both the ideas contained herein and certain service system concepts, such as "the staff work group" and "the role of the social worker," that have not been elaborated in this set of teaching materials.

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[1] See appended list, p. 225

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Council on Social Work Education

Berkeley, California
August, 1964

Orienting Concepts

IN THE SUMMER of 1962 I was just terminating an action research project located in a young men's reformatory[1] when I was asked to teach a graduate seminar entitled "Social Work and the Offender." During the previous two and a half years "inside the walls," the C Unit inmates had taught me much about their problems and potentialities. I wished to share these new understandings with my students. Accordingly I assigned a "caseload" of my inmate acquaintances to the class, asking the students to think with me about the implications of these cases for social work practice in the correctional setting. The caseload consisted of seventeen diagnostic studies prepared on the basis of interviews with randomly selected C Unit inmates. The records had not been prepared as teaching cases. Rather they were reports of data collected for a small research unit concerned with the question: How can the social worker most economically gather the information about an offender's problem in social functioning needed to design an appropriate treatment strategy?

In the following two years, two classes of social work students and a number of faculty colleagues have participated with me in analyzing and editing these cases. From the beginning it has been evident that these young men offenders, speaking for themselves, have stimulated both students and teachers to a heightened awareness of the practice realities in correctional social work. The issues raised by these cases led to the preparation of additional case examples by the seminar students. The resulting collection of teaching materials, refined and tested during two years of experimentation, gives promise of wider usefulness than originally anticipated, suggesting approaches to the study of any field of social work practice. It is now ready for additional testing and experimentation by other social work educators.

The somewhat unusual method of gathering data and preparing it for use in teaching has resulted in certain departures in form and content from the more customary social work teaching case.

In the first place, these cases are intended to introduce students to concepts for ordering practice information rather than to expose them to the complete reality of practice. Each of the cases follows one thread of an action story in order to illustrate a single concept or a set of related concepts. The more usual teaching case takes "one slice of life," edited for clarity, and presents a relatively complete action sequence. In contrast these cases use data selected from the complexity of real life to highlight the way a particular idea appears in action. They are vignettes of action rather than portrayals in naturalistic detail.

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[1] See Introduction, p. 2.

Secondly, the ideas to be illustrated by these cases concern the interaction between an individual to be served and his social situation rather than the treatment relationship between a social worker and his client. Each case shows a problem in social functioning as it is produced, maintained, or changed because of what goes on between the individual and his social environment. A social worker appears in each case as a part of the client's environment, either as the actively responsible professional or as a participant observer; and all data have been selected and recorded from the social work perspective. But the story in each reports interaction between the client and his situation rather than the process by which the social worker manages the helping relationship.

Because these are stories of persons operating in social situations the focusing concepts are necessarily psychosociological. The appropriate tools for case analysis include such terms as social functioning, self, identity, role, values, deviance, and socialization, each of which implies by definition the interaction of a person within a social matrix. Other theoretical constructs, especially those referring to the internal dynamics of personalities and of social systems, are implied by the psychosociological realm of discourse, although they may not be directly addressed. Such concepts remain in the background of action in these cases, to be supplemented by the reader from his own theoretical framework.[2]

Finally the concepts selected for illustration by these cases are useful for the analysis of fields of social work practice rather than for the study of method. Field of practice concepts are those that direct attention to the relevant social environment of social work practice. Such concepts are tools for analyzing the adaptations in social work practice that appear as social workers deal with different social problems in the different service systems provided by our society. They also suggest ways in which these systems might be modified for more effective service.

Most of the cases in the three teaching units to follow use data from the correctional field of practice, partly because that field has long needed to explain those aspects of its task that call for adaptation of general social work knowledge and skill. At the same time, the concepts to be illustrated seem generally useful for studying any field of practice and for comparing among fields of practice. Two cases from other fields, mental health and child welfare, have been included along with the correctional cases in order to suggest the usefulness of this kind of case for generalizing across fields of practice.

As we have said, these cases illustrate certain concepts within that part of social work practice theory that deals with the influence of fields of practice on the use of social work practice theory. The concepts selected for illustration attain their significance within the larger framework for studying fields of practice that has been used in the preparation of the cases.

A WAY OF THINKING ABOUT A FIELD OF PRACTICE

We will be thinking of a field of social work practice as that part of the social environment of a unit of social work action that is relevant for the giving of service.

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[2] The writer is aware that other teachers might have used the same data to illustrate quite different teaching points. As a consequence of selection and focus, the concept-highlighting case is relatively specific in its educational use.

It is very important that we make clear what we mean by "field" in this context. Frequently this term has had for social workers the connotation of a fenced and limited domain controlled by relatively static powers external to social work to which practitioners have had to "adjust." It is more useful for social work practice theory to think of "field" in the dynamic sense as that part of the social environment that is relevant for social work action, characterized by dynamic interplay among interdependent parts.[3]

Such a field of social forces is especially important for the work of a practice that deals with problems of social functioning, because such a practice must have access to and some ability to influence those social processes that both contribute to such problems and are necessary for their resolution. Social work has been an agency-based practice in large measure because organizations are the means for controlling certain aspects of the social environment and for establishing communication with others.

If field of practice has this kind of dynamic relationship to what is done in professional work with the individual client, it behooves social workers to create a language for describing the critical components of such fields. Only so can we develop the precision of understanding that permits skill in using the field process in service to clients.

The formulation about fields of practice used in the preparation of these cases has been developed by social workers in the correctional field[4] because they have needed to explain to the profession and for themselves the social process in which they take part and the adaptations of general social work method appropriate to their work.

Twenty years ago corrections was not accepted by a sizable proportion of the profession as a legitimate field for social work practice, in spite of the fact that many individual social workers found it an appropriate setting for helping in accordance with social work principles. When correctional social workers tried to explain certain "differences" about their work, they found themselves handicapped by the fact that social work practice theory has, until recently, lacked a systematic model for defining any field of practice. Method has been the primary organizing idea for most practice theory while field of practice formulations have been often attributed to relatively "accidental" factors operating at different times in history to establish different kinds of agencies in response to different sorts of human problems. From the beginning of the effort to formulate social work practice theory for corrections it has been clear that, unless the dimensions used for studying corrections were also relevant for understanding other fields of practice, corrections would continue to be a "special case" in the social work family, limited in access to the full resources of the profession and handicapped in making a contribution. Thus, building practice theory for social work in corrections has required a simultaneous search for the dimensions by which any field of practice might be understood.

The rationale for studying fields of practice that is here proposed has been developed inductively, piece by piece, as recurrent problems in correctional practice have been identified and difficulties in communication with the profession uncovered.

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[3] See Kurt Lewin, Field Theory in Social Science (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951), pp. xi-xiii.

[4] For another, somewhat similar framework for studying fields of practice using the field of medical social work as an example, see Harriett Bartlett, Analyzing Social Work Practice by Fields (New York: National Association of Social Workers, 1961).

The process started with the knotty problem of "treatment and authority."[5] Client and worker roles in the service process were next identified as a significant "difference," calling for adaptation.[6] And more recently the whole question of values and organization for value change has occupied the focus of attention. As various concepts have been refined and found useful for analyzing correctional social work practice, the outline of a larger framework in which all these concepts could be dynamically related has appeared. In this framework there are three organizing dimensions for describing a field of practice: social problem, social task, and service system.

In an introduction to teaching cases it would be inappropriate to attempt a complete theoretical discussion of fields of practice and the meaning of this concept for the profession. In the pages immediately following the three critical dimensions used for analyzing fields of practice in this formulation will be defined primarily to establish the conceptual anchorage of each teaching unit. Each of the next three sections will begin with a general orientation to one of the critical dimensions, proceed to use that dimension for a summary analysis of the pertinent characteristics of the correctional field of practice, and end by indicating how the submitted teaching cases attempt to illustrate concepts related to that dimension.

SOCIAL PROBLEM

It has been customary to think first of organizational differences among agencies when attempting to explain why social work practice appears to differ from one field to another. However, social workers have always been uneasy about using organizational difference as the single determining variable for analyzing fields of practice. Highly visible organizational differences may arise from relatively superficial determinants such as the accidents of history, the operation of unsympathetic or inadequate administrations, or the requirements of a superordinate profession. Such organizational characteristics certainly affect the daily work of the social workers practicing in a given agency, but they are neither crucial nor generally significant for practice theory.

On closer examination, however, it becomes evident that certain differences among service organizations are indexes to more basic variations in the social services. Different social problems have different meanings for the society in which they appear; they therefore evoke different responses from all the related persons including the social worker and his client. These different meanings and responses constellate in definable systems of human behavior, each characterized by the fact that it exists to deal with a particular societal problem rather than with some other.

Accordingly we begin our analysis of corrections as a field of practice by asking questions about the social problem to which corrections is addressed. What does that problem mean for society? What kinds of concern does it arouse? What means are deemed appropriate by our society for managing the problem?

At this point we are thinking of the social problem as a general condition involving enough individuals to affect the welfare of the community. The ultimate service is usually administered at the level where the problem appears in the functioning of individuals. But for understanding the focus and essential conditions of a field of practice, we need first to define the social problem as it is seen from the community level. What aspects of community welfare are threatened by the existence of the problem? What community norms are challenged? And what does this mean for the community's goals in taking action?

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[5] See Elliot Studt, "An Outline for Study of Social Authority Factors in Casework," Social Casework, June, 1954 (reprinted in Social Casework in the Fifties, C. Kasius, ed. (New York: Family Service Association of America, 1962), pp. 263-276; and "Worker-Client Authority Relationships," Social Work, IV, 1 (January 1959), pp. 18-28.

[6] Elliot Studt, Education for Social Workers in the Correctional Field, Volume V of the Social Work Curriculum Study, Council on Social Work Education, 1959.

Any social problem can be defined from two perspectives, and we need both kinds of definition to understand and evaluate a field of practice. One definition describes the social problem as it appears when measured against ideal standards for community welfare; the second refers to that aspect of the problem that is recognized by the community and acted upon. This second problem formulation at the operational level is useful for studying a field of practice at a given point in its history. The ideal definition of the problem provides guides for evaluating the field of practice and proposing change.

As soon as we start to define any social problem we realize we are dealing with value judgments. A condition is problematic for the community because (1) it fails to meet certain normative tests, whether the norms refer to educational standards, economic productivity, physical or mental health, or "good" family life; and (2) these normative failures have undesirable consequences for other important community functions.

The social problem of crime and deliquency, to which corrections is addressed, occurs in the domain of moral norms. Our society has recognized for action purposes only one segment in the much larger problem of moral deviance: violations of the community's official moral code as it is formulated in the criminal law. That set of legal norms protects the fundamental securities of the community's members—rights to personal safety, property, and public decency—without which community, in our modern sense, is impossible. Behaviors that attack these securities are perceived by the community as highly dangerous both to its individual members and to the ability of the community to perform its primary socializing, economic, and political functions.

In identifying that part of the larger problem of moral deviance to which it will respond officially, our society has used two primary means of problem management: policing to prevent behavior violating the criminal code, and some sort of social segregation for those individuals who have been convicted of actual violations. Only gradually during the last one hundred years has service been introduced as a means to manage the social problem of moral deviance; and that service is still provided primarily for those individuals who have made their moral difficulty clear by offending against the criminal law. The correctional system has been chosen as the organizational medium through which service is to be provided for these individuals.

In the ideal perspective, the social problem of moral deviance is clearly not limited to identified criminal offenders. Many additional persons in our society are exposed to defective socializing processes that damage the individual's ability to perform as a morally responsible member of his community. Recent developments in a delinquency prevention, directed particularly to the socializing processes of adolescence and youth, indicate a societal readiness to examine the problem in this more comprehensive context. But at this point in history the thrust of society's efforts to deal with moral deviations through service is largely focused on individuals who have already committed acts defined as criminal.

This definition of the social problem from the community perspective identifies the kind of social concern generated by the problem and the particular norms invoked in defining goals for problem management. It also tells us something about other systems of social control related to service in problem management and about the population to which the community currently offers service. But to define a social problem in a way that is useful for a practice we need also to understand how the problem appears in the lives of the individuals who are to be served. What kinds of stress precipitate specific instances of the problem? What disabilities are associated with the problem? What parts of the self and what social processes are involved in initiating and maintaining the problem in an individual's experience?

The first set of teaching cases in this collection presents the problematic situations of seventeen young men offenders as instances of the general social problem to which the correctional service is addressed. These cases will tell us something about the range of human difficulties encountered in the correctional caseload, the psychosociological processes involved in problem causation and perpetuation, and the kinds of social work treatment strategies needed for effective work when the problem in social functioning is one of moral deviation.

Figure 1 (see page 10) diagrams that part of the conceptual framework to which our attention will be directed in Teaching Unit I.

SOCIAL TASK

A second societal process interacts with the identification of the social problem to determine the nature of a field of social work practice. This is the decision-making process by which the community assumes certain kinds of responsibilities for the problem, authorizes various problem management activities, and sets goals for those who are to deal with the problem in the name of the community. Out of this complex process emerges the social task that is assigned to some service organization or system of organizations.

Social task can also be defined from two perspectives. Ideally it refers to what the community ought and must do to prevent the social problem and to rectify the damage to individuals and groups resulting from the problem's occurrence. This ideal version of the social task is often formulated in standards against which agency performance can be evaluated. In the more immediate action framework, the social task denotes the explicit and implicit goals that the service organizations are expected to pursue in the course of their problem-management activities. At this operational level the social task always represents a compromise among competing interests in the community whose struggles for power determine the focus and range of authorized problem-solving activity.[7] And the definition of the social task tends to change over time as the real nature of the social problem becomes better understood.

When we analyze the social task currently assigned to the correctional organizations we find an uncoordinated collection of responsibilities accumulated through a century and a half of correctional operation and harboring serious potential conflicts among goals. A listing of these subtasks will show how the problem management processes of policing, social segregation, and service are combined in the social assignment to the correctional organizations.

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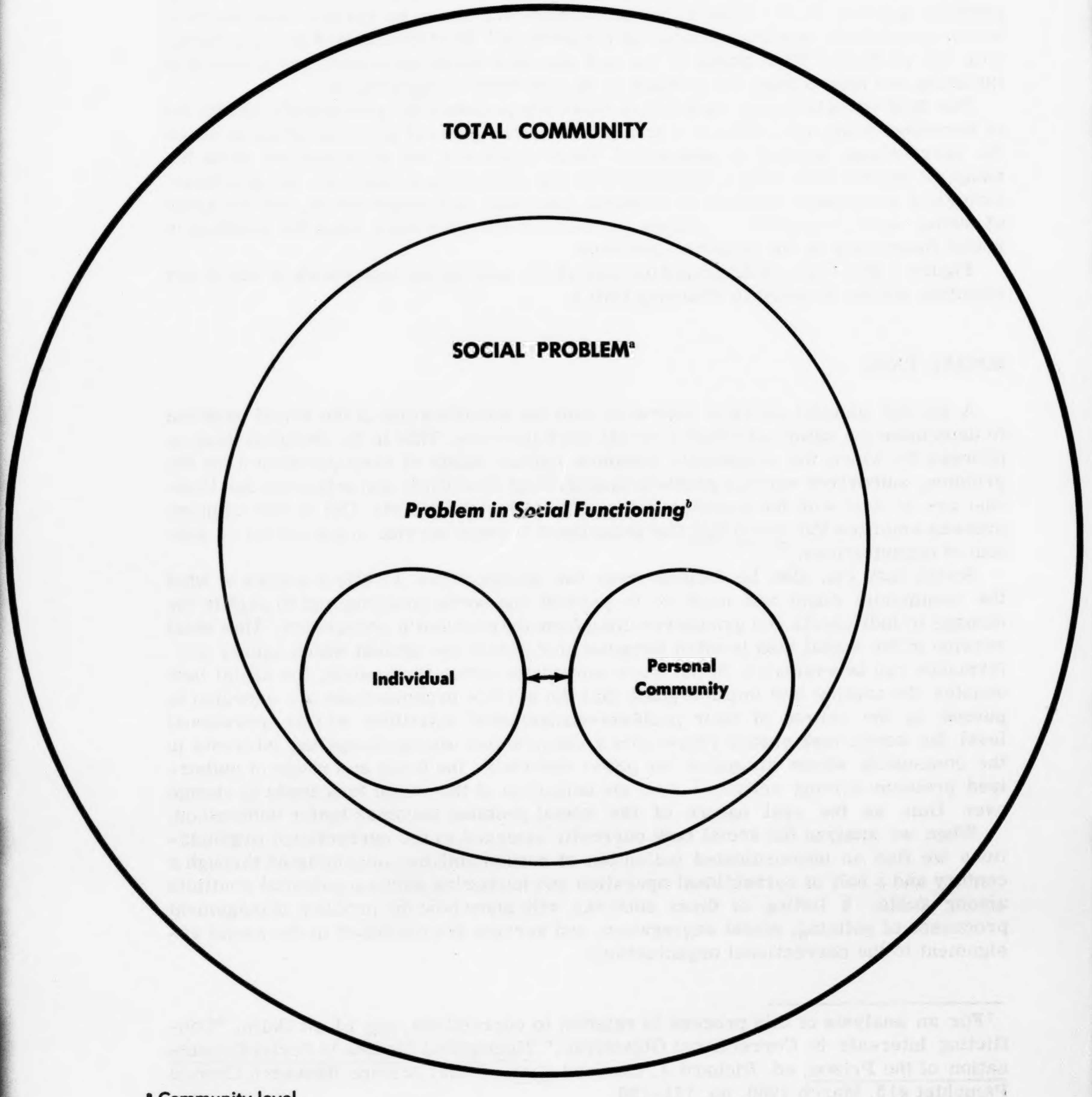
[7] For an analysis of this process in relation to corrections, see Lloyd Ohlin, "Conflicting Interests in Correctional Objectives," Theoretical Studies in Social Organization of the Prison, ed. Richard A. Cloward et al., Social Science Research Council Pamphlet #15, March 1960, pp. 111-126.

Figure 1

SOCIAL PROBLEM


TOTAL COMMUNITY
SOCIAL PROBLEM[a]
Problem in Social Functioning[b]
Individual
Personal Community

[a] Community level
[b] Level of individual and his situation

1. The primary charge to the correctional agencies has always been to protect the community from the potentially dangerous behavior of identified offenders while they are under sentence. Such community protection entails some sort of social segregation implemented by supervision over many of the offender's activities. In the original sense of this mandate, supervision was expected to produce the kind of suffering that would be experienced by the offender as punishment.

2. As the general fund of social resources has increased along with concern for human welfare, the basic assignment to the correctional system has been modified to specify that supervision shall be conducted in a humane manner. At the same time the deprivations inherent in the offender's status are expected to maintain the punishment component in the correctional experience.

3. With increased knowledge about the causes of moral deviation, an additional assignment to correctional systems has been authorized by many communities. The correctional agency is now often expected to do something to or for the offending individual that will make it more probable that he will not again violate basic moral norms after his release from supervision. The nature of this treatment has been variously defined, e.g., habit training, religious counseling, education, vocational training, or psychological treatment, depending partly on the skills and resources available to the service system. All these various treatments are expected to change the offender's moral orientations and to provide him with the social skills essential for morally responsible behavior. They are at present the somewhat embryonic fragments of what might ultimately become a genuine resocializing process.

4. As the possibilities of more effective resocialization have been explored, an additional task for corrections is emerging. It is evident that the moral behavior desired of treated offenders can not occur in a social vacuum, since moral behavior requires a supporting community as well as a person who seeks to contribute to the community. The correctional task is not completed until the offender is restored to viable interaction in his personal community; and the task of restoration requires the active participation of the offender's community. Accordingly there is increasing awareness on the part of some of those interests who determine the correctional task that correctional systems must act to mobilize community support for treated offenders as well as to change the offender.[8] As yet the means by which the task of restoration is to be accomplished are vaguely defined and seldom explicitly authorized.

All or some combination of these tasks coexist in the current community assignment to most correctional organizations. These agencies are expected at one and the same time to supervise offenders in a way that is both depriving and humane; to resocialize offenders as appropriate for each individual's problem in social functioning; and to involve the community in restoring offenders as safe and contributing members of the community. However, these subtasks are defined usually as discrete, unrelated activities, sometimes as mutually exclusive. This kind of heterogeneity of task assignment and of organizational goals has many consequences for the structure of correctional organization and for the practice of social work within them. It suggests that social workers in corrections must participate in an effort to achieve a comprehensive and integrated definition of the correctional task before it will be possible to clarify the role of the social work practitioner within the correctional service.

Figure 2 (page 12) diagrams the social task dimension in the larger framework we

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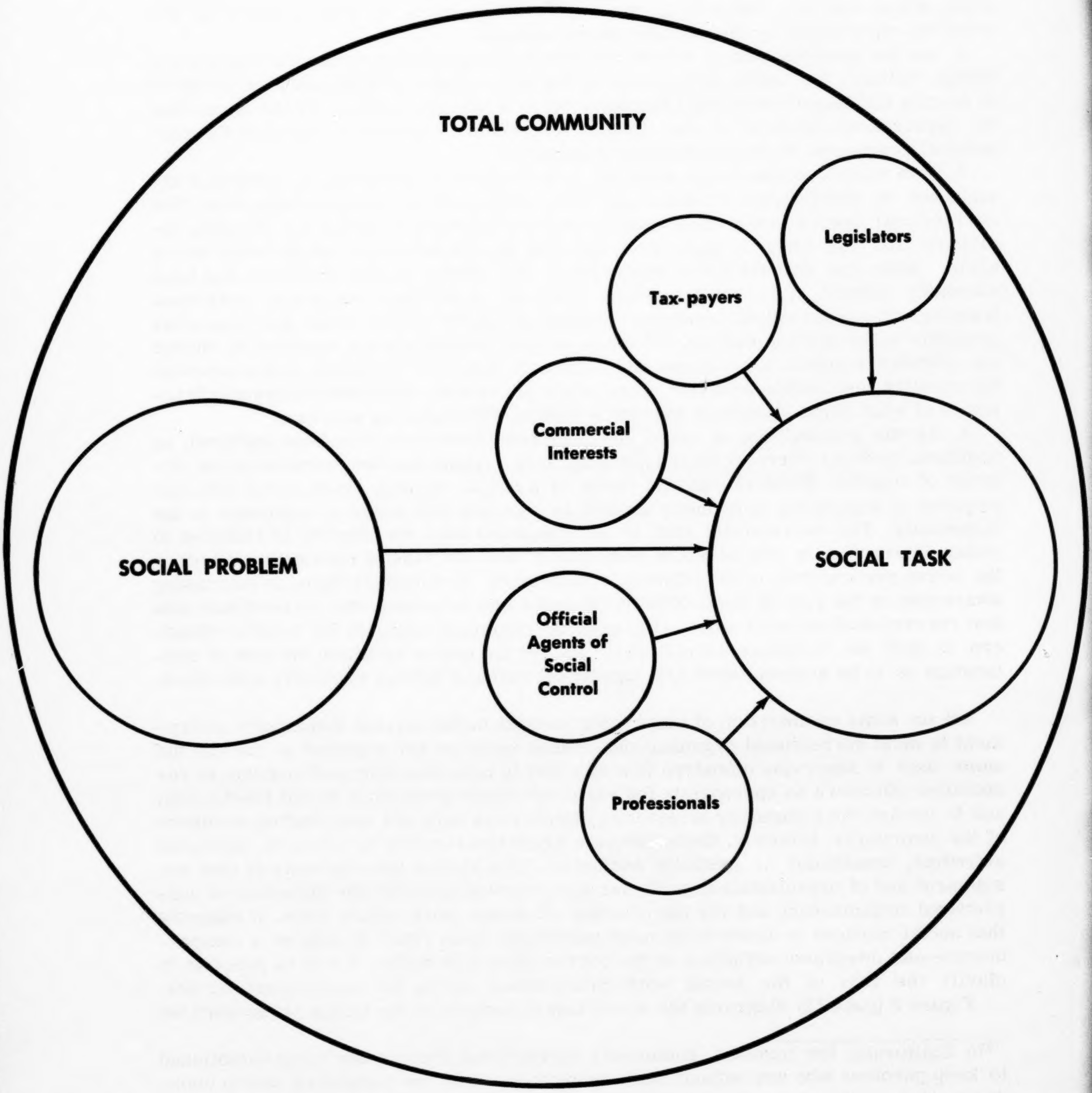
[8] In California, for instance, community correctional centers are being established to keep parolees who are without other resources within the community and to coordinate community interest in the welfare of all parolees.

Figure 2

SOCIAL TASK


TOTAL COMMUNITY
Legislators
Tax-payers
Commercial Interests
SOCIAL PROBLEM
SOCIAL TASK
Official Agents of Social Control
Professionals

are using to analyze a field of practice. No teaching unit in this collection directly illustrates the decision-making activities that ultimately determine what responsibilities are assigned to correctional agencies. However, all the cases provide data that is relevant to the question: How should the social task of the correctional organization be defined if the agencies are to deal effectively with the social problem to which they are addressed?

THE SERVICE SYSTEM

In our society, as a social problem emerges and is identified as warranting community action, some organization or system of organizations is established to deal with the problem. The characteristics of the organization will reflect the way the particular problem is socially perceived, e.g., widely dangerous to health or safety, economically disruptive, or disadvantageous to a limited number of individuals; the extent of community responsibility accepted in the social task; and the means currently deemed appropriate for remedying the problem conditions, e.g., control by police action, financial provision, education, or psychological treatment. The organization will be particularly affected by the way other problem management strategies are combined with the service strategy. Out of these various components the particular service organization's structure emerges as different from that of other service organizations.

Such organizational differences are dynamic social responses to the nature of the problem and to the task to be accomplished. A certain kind of staff group is selected and within that staff a particular role for the social worker emerges. The individual whose problematic behavior has brought him to the attention of the agency is assigned a particular kind of organizational identity for the period during which he is served. Various kinds of associated decision-makers, rather than others, become relevant to the service and therefore related to the organization. The relations among these official and nonofficial persons together form an identifiable service system consisting of the official organization, the people it serves, and the persons and agencies who are associated with the service because of the nature of the particular social problem. Each such service system provides the immediate organizational environment for social work practice with its clientele.

Accordingly we must ask certain questions about those aspects of the organizational environment that are critical for social work practice in order to complete our analysis of a field of practice. For instance, we need to understand something about each of the following:

> What organizational role is provided for the individual to be served?
> What kinds of personnel are brought together in the staff?
> What role for the social worker is provided in that staff group?
> Who are the service-relevant decision-makers outside the agency?

Figure 3 (page 14) diagrams these critical components of the organization as they operate in our third determining variable, the service system.

When we analyze the correctional organization as a service system we see how the uncoordinated goals of the correctional task have made it difficult to organize the correctional service as a rational problem-solving process.

1. The offender's role in the service system: The fundamental fact about

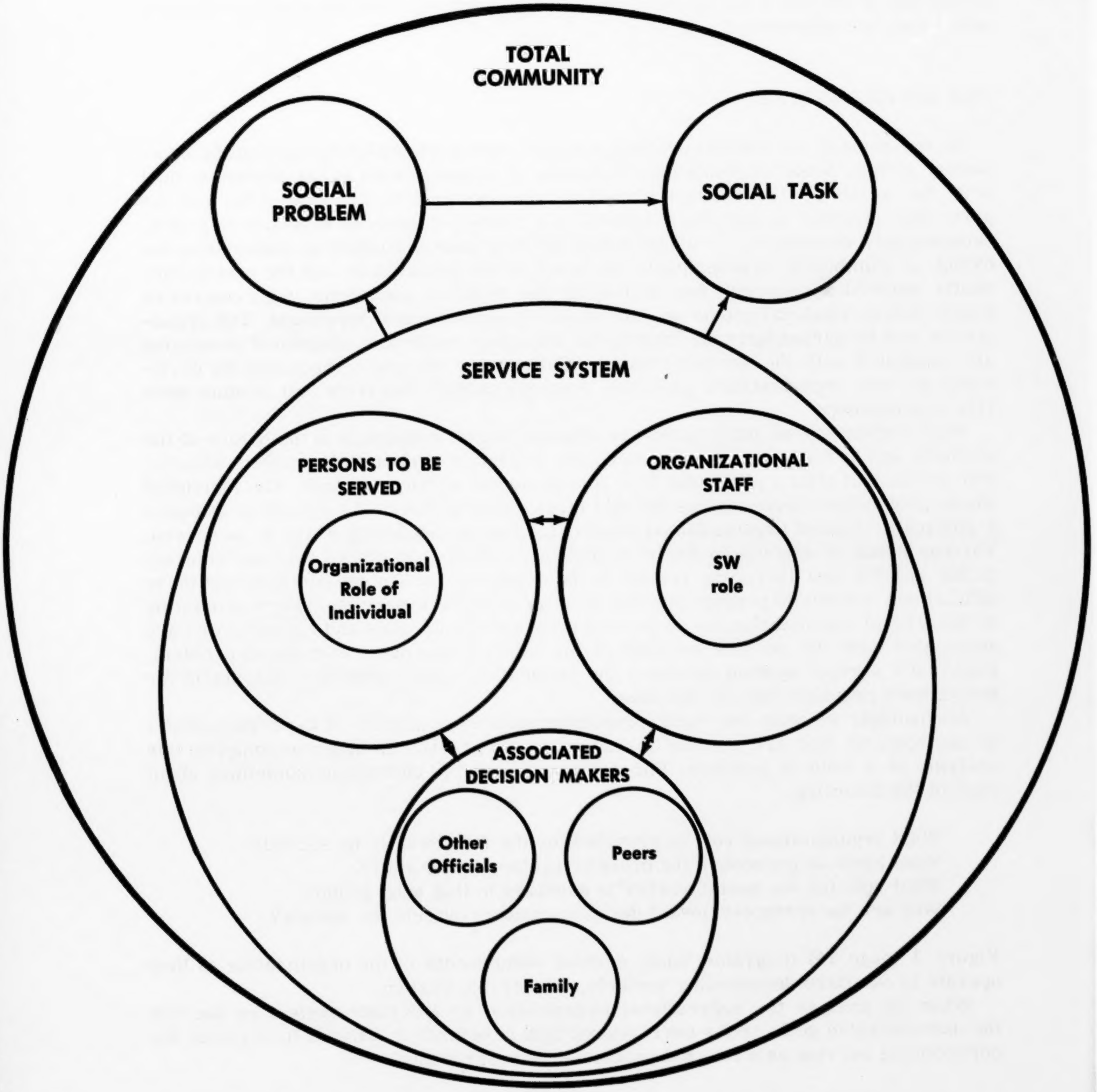


Figure 3

SERVICE SYSTEM

TOTAL COMMUNITY
SOCIAL PROBLEM
SOCIAL TASK
SERVICE SYSTEM
PERSONS TO BE SERVED
Organizational Role of Individual
ORGANIZATIONAL STAFF
SW role
ASSOCIATED DECISION MAKERS
Other Officials
Peers
Family

the identified offender's social status is that he has been officially declared "bad" and has been degraded within the community[9] His organizational identity in the correctional service system reflects this social status: he is a distrusted subordinate to be closely supervised. This organizational role affects all his other roles in the organization whether he is the client of a social worker or, as in the institution, a student of the correctional teacher, counselee of the chaplain, or workman in training with the vocational instructor. It also affects what is expected of him in his roles with other persons outside the correctional organization, such as employment counselors, employers, school teachers, police, family members, and peers. Seldom does the correctional organization manage to provide a basic role for the offenders it serves that defines them as persons of worth who have something to contribute to their society.

2. The correctional staff: In correctional organizations one finds many different bodies of personnel, each pursuing one or another subtask as though it were the primary and overriding concern of the organization. This segmentation of personnel by groups is observable not only in the custody, treatment, educational, and work programs of the institution; but also between the correctional agencies that assume responsibility for different periods of time during the individual offender's sentence, i.e., probation, institutions, and parole. Each group of correctional personnel tends to perform its immediate functions with little reference to the impact of its work on the work of other groups; and each maintains its own ideology about the cause and cure of the social problem to which the whole organizational system is addressed.

3. The social worker's role: In this fragmented collection of correctional staff groups the social worker's role and particular contribution has been only roughly defined by either the profession or the correctional system. Consequently most correctional social workers make a somewhat idiosyncratic adjustment to the exigencies of their organizational environment. Many become isolated "treators," unrelated to other personnel or, alternatively, lose their professional identity in the performance of a variety of correctional tasks. Some have found it possible to assume a significant leadership role, encouraging the agency to define a more comprehensive service task that will engage the abilities of many kinds of personnel. But this leadership role is seldom explicitly authorized by the agency and usually emerges only because the individual social worker creates it for himself.[10]

4. The associated decision-makers: The correctional organization tends to be isolated from many of the service-related decision-makers whose help is necessary for effective resocialization and restoration. Many officials such as police, school administrators, and welfare or recreation workers hold the correctional agency responsible for preventing the offender from causing trouble for them. Members of the offender's personal community, such as family, peers, or employers, tend to resent the intrusion of the correctional organization into their activities and often withdraw from the implication that they should share in service responsibilities. This isolation of the organization within the community parallels and reflects the social isolation of the offenders whom it is

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[9] See H. Garfinkel, "Conditions of Successful Degradation Ceremonies," American Journal of Sociology, LXI, 5 (March, 1956), pp. 420-424.

[10] For an outline of an emerging social work role in corrections, see Elliot Studt, "Social Work Practice in Correctional Programs," Encyclopedia of Social Work (New York: National Association of Social Workers, Inc., 1965) pp. 219-225.

> expected to serve. Although all the relations between the offender and his significant others are crucial for effective correctional service, the correctional organization is seldom equipped to coordinate them in work toward the common goal of restoration.

This analysis of the dysfunctional aspects of the correctional service system is possible only because there are continuing efforts by correctional personnel to redefine the organizational identity of the offender, to coordinate staff efforts around a common task, to use the full contribution of professional expertise, and to enlist the support of associated decision-makers. And corrections is not the only service system to suffer from such difficulties. However bleak the prospect outlined above, the analysis does direct social work attention to critical issues in the organizational environment of the correctional service that must be resolved if the service is to be effective.

Teaching Units II and III illustrate two of the critical concepts in the analysis of the service system: the organizational role of the person to be served, and the operation of various service-related decision-makers in social work treatment. In each of these teaching units one case from an agency other than correctional is included to illustrate how similar problems appear in other fields of practice.

FIELDS OF PRACTICE

The three determining variables—social problem, social task, and service system—interact dynamically to determine the nature of any field of practice as it exists at a single point of time (see Figure 4, page 17). From its inception the service system operates not only to implement the social definitions of the problem and the task but also to change them. As the problem is officially experienced and more adequately documented, additional means for problem management may be proposed and new targets for interventive action identified. This enlarged and revised definition of the social problem sets in motion forces for further modifying the social task, with consequences in turn for the service organization, the individuals served by the agency, the social worker dealing with them, and the associated decision-makers.

Thus any particular field of practice can be conceptualized as a flow of human activities among multiple representatives of the community, those individuals whose behavior is symptomatic of a certain social problem, and the organizations authorized to do something about the problem. The dynamic processes thus set in motion are ostensibly designed to change the people whose behavior evidences the particular social problem; actually they instigate changes in all the systems affected by and affecting the problem.[11] This flow of human activity, identifiable because it is focused on a particular social problem, is the relevant social environment within which the social work practice unit acts and from which it derives its field of practice characteristics.

However, social work practice is not just passively shaped by its participation in its service-relevant environment. As one of the active components in a dynamic process, social work shares in shaping the field of practice even as it is affected by it. The analysis of a field of practice is useful not only for understanding the various adaptations required of social work as it participates with others in addressing one

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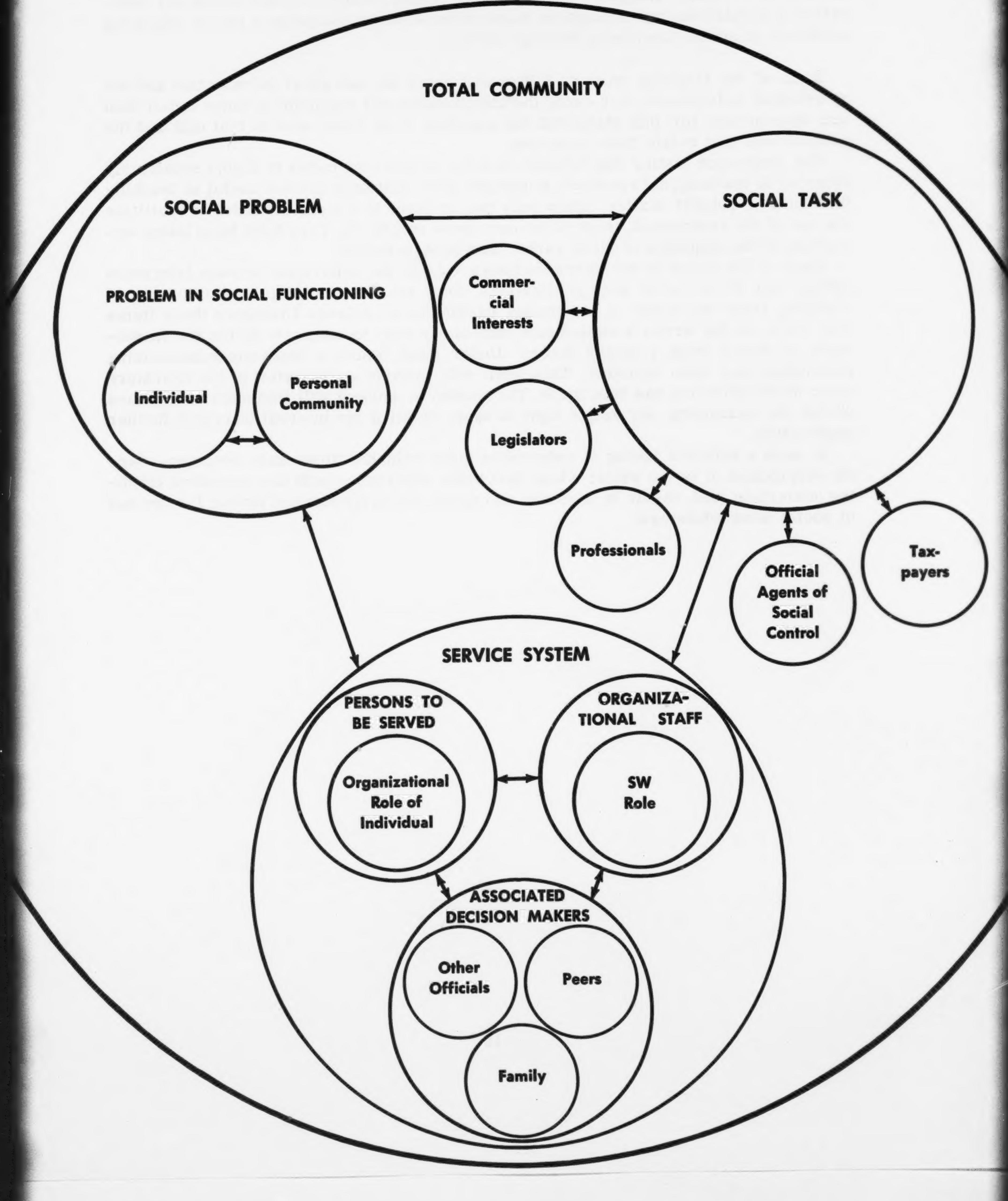
[11] Kenneth D. Benne, "Deliberate Changing as the Facilitation of Growth," in Bennis, Benne and Chin (eds.), The Planning of Change (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1961), pp. 230-234.

Figure 4

THE FIELD OF PRACTICE


TOTAL COMMUNITY
SOCIAL PROBLEM
PROBLEM IN SOCIAL FUNCTIONING
Individual
Personal Community
SOCIAL TASK
Commercial Interests
Legislators
Professionals
Official Agents of Social Control
Tax-payers
SERVICE SYSTEM
PERSONS TO BE SERVED
Organizational Role of Individual
ORGANIZATIONAL STAFF
SW Role
ASSOCIATED DECISION MAKERS
Other Officials
Peers
Family

social problem or another. It also identifies the critical points in any service process where action for change will be most effective in improving service. Adaptation achieved by creative struggles with particular social realities should enrich our theoretical formulations and strengthen the profession whose competence lies in resolving problems of social functioning through service.

Each of the teaching units to follow will carry its own short introduction and set of selected references. For each, the introduction will explicate in more detail than was appropriate for this statement the concepts to be illustrated in that unit and the propositions that relate those concepts.

The reference listing that follows each set of teaching cases is highly selectively oriented to teaching, not research. It includes titles that have proved useful in teaching this kind of subject matter, often only two or three to a topic. In order to facilitate the use of the references, most titles have been annotated. They have been listed according to the sequence of ideas rather than alphabetically.

Many of the items in the reference lists are from the behavioral science literature rather than from social work publications. They are intended to guide the teacher in choosing from the mass of potentially useful social science literature those items that seem, in the writer's experience, especially easy to integrate within the framework of social work practice theory. Under most topics at least one summarizing publication has been included. This item will provide an overview of the literature from which selection has been made. The teacher or student will find such summaries useful for examining any single topic in more detail if his interest warrants further exploration.

In such a selected listing of references many valuable items have been necessarily overlooked. It is the writer's hope that wider experience with the submitted teaching materials will result in a richer and more precisely focused listing for the use of social work educators.

TEACHING UNIT 1

The Problem in Social Functioning

THIS SET of case studies illustrates the general social problem to which corrections is addressed by presenting seventeen examples of the problems in social functioning to be found in the correctional caseload. Each case study is the recording of a single research interview in which a social worker was asking, "What kind of treatment strategy might be needed to deal with this individual's problem in moral functioning?" These cases should tell us something about the range and types of individual difficulties to be found in the correctional caseload and suggest the kinds of interventions required if these difficulties are to be effectively resolved.

A number of propositions guided the writer's focus and selection of data in conducting and recording these interviews.

PROPOSITIONS

The crucial problem for treatment in every correctional case seems to be one of moral functioning. The individual offender has, for a variety of complex reasons, been unable to satisfy his needs in the community in accordance with the basic moral prescriptions that the needs of others be respected and that one must give as well as take. In every case the individual comes to a correctional agency because official representatives of the community have determined that he has specifically violated some portion of the legally enforced moral code. There are occasional instances in which the individual is actually innocent of the alleged act, or in which the act was so clearly an accident that the individual's moral orientations are not in question. But such cases are exceptional; and even in these instances the relation between the individual and his society after such a determination has been made is so lacking in trust and mutuality that genuine moral behavior is difficult to achieve. The more usual case reveals some defects in prior socializing experiences and some resulting pathology either in the individual's moral orientations or in his ability to perform according to his value loyalties.

In trying to understand the treatment problem thus assigned to social work practice in corrections, it is important to realize that moral behavior is a relation between the individual and his community. Moral behavior cannot be "committed" in vacuo nor is moral orientation simply a trait of the individual person in isolation from others. Rather, morals are a pervasive quality of behavior in basic social roles, determined both by the individual's orientation toward the rights and needs of others as well as by the expectations and responses of those others with whom he is associated.

Moral behavior appears only when basic conditions for mutuality between the individual and his community obtain. The conditions necessary for moral behavior seem to include: some general consensus between the individual and his community as to what is good and what means are acceptable to use in attaining the good; mutual esteem and concern for the welfare of both the individual and the larger social group; and active contribution of resources each to the other. Moral behavior does not occur in situations where force or manipulation control the interaction among persons, even though externally the "rules of the game" are followed. The moral code of any group simply formulates into rules for conduct the "mutually enhancing" quality that is essential for productive human relations.[1]

Before the offender becomes a social worker's client in a correctional agency he and his community have reached an officially established impasse in their relations. This process has had some history of mutually unsatisfactory interchanges. In this history we generally find:

> An individual whose ongoing socialization by the community has been in some way defective.
>
> A progressive definition of the individual by his community as a deviant and as disapproved.
>
> An act by the individual so flagrantly in violation of the moral code that it is dealt with by the official administrators of that code.
>
> A status officially assigned to the individual by the community that abrogates, to some extent, the conditions of mutual enhancement essential for moral behavior.

This impasse—the outcome of the sequence outlined above—constitutes the problem in social functioning at that point in time when the correctional social worker enters the picture. At the moment when correctional treatment begins, the situation is such that it is extremely difficult for either the offender or the community to initiate or sustain mutually satisfactory interaction without help. The social work treatment task in correctional practice is therefore to assist both parties, individual and community, to establish the conditions necessary for moral interchange between them.

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[1] Miller and Swanson define moral behavior as: "Moral behaviors spring up when people find each other mutually gratifying and enhancing, and simultaneously, non-threatening. These moral relations may appear in the interactions people have with each other in a society, a family, a gang, or any other group. The virtues—moral norms—are simply the rules of behavior that people discover they have to follow if this highly rewarding situation is to be preserved. The exact behaviors that might have to be performed to pursue these relations vary from one social situation to another. . . . Everywhere, to the degree that relations among men are mutually enhancing and non-threatening, to that degree those relations are preserved only when certain rules of conduct are present—rules exemplified by the common virtues, such as honesty, loyalty, cooperativeness, helpfulness, responsibility, and justice. Those rules are moral, and behavior consonant with them is moral behavior." (Daniel R. Miller and Guy E. Swanson, The Changing American Parent. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1958, p. 166.)

Each correctional case presents a specific problem in moral functioning. Specifying the nature of the problem as it appears in the life of an individual is required in corrections, as in all social work practice, in order to design effective intervention.

It is therefore necessary to ask: "What must be known about each correctional case situation in order to intervene in the particular instance of the problem?" It is suggested that, if the worker has information about the following areas, he will be able to design a tentative treatment strategy for dealing with the specific problem in moral functioning as it appears in the life of the individual at this time:

The Person

What is his perception of the nature of relations among people in his social world?

What is his image of himself, as he is and as he expects to be, in this social world?

What moral orientations guide his participation in social relations?

The Person in His Basic Social Roles

How have his socializing experiences with family, peers, and authority persons shaped his basic orientations toward social relations?

How does he express these basic orientations in current relations with family, peers, and officials?

To what degree have his experiences in the community's opportunity systems taught him the social skills required for morally responsible behavior?

Indicators for Treatment

What does the person perceive as stressful and how does he react to stress?

What does the person perceive as help and how does he respond to resources for help?

CASE ILLUSTRATIONS

The seventeen young men who appear in these cases were randomly chosen from a population of 130 inmates in C Unit, a social work treatment program housed in one living unit in a reformatory for youthful and young adult offenders. In each case the interviewer talked with the respondent for the first time and without collecting information about him prior to the interview. The purpose was to discover how much information relevant for planning a treatment strategy could be discovered under conditions of limited time and information somewhat similar to those obtaining in most correctional practice. The summaries were each recorded soon after the interview essentially as they now stand, using the guiding questions outlined above for ordering the data. The interviews themselves were unstructured.

It may be useful to comment briefly on the method of interviewing used in securing the data for these case studies.[2]

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[2] Although these interviews were conducted in the interest of research and were limited to one period of interchange, the method followed is much like that used by the writer in starting a social work relationship with any correctional client. In such situations she simply spreads the "getting acquainted process" over as many interviews as necessary until both she and the client agree that "we are ready to plan how we will work together." This deliberately established "moratorium on

The interview was used as a sample new human relationship set up to catch how the individual offender as a whole person tends to structure and establish himself in social relations. This kind of interview situation was unfamiliar to the respondent and was deliberately left unstructured by the interviewer. The reason for the interview was explained something as follows: "I don't have a chance to talk with all the men in C Unit in the course of my normal duties so I thought I would use this way to get acquainted with you." The respondent was also informed that nothing we talked about would go into his record and that there would be no second interview. The interviewer acted throughout only to express interest, to seek clarification or illustration, and occasionally to ease an individual over a bad spot or to initiate a subject that might have been left unexplored without such invitation. However, the questions in the interviewer's mind were not primarily concerned with content. Rather she was interested in general in such questions as these: How does this person perceive an attempt to "become acquainted" with himself? What are the general outlines of the roles he sets up for himself and the other? What responsibility does he assume for communication? What skills does he bring to communication? Where does a relationship that does not purport to do anything for him fit into his scheme of values? Such questions focus on a whole person, seen as a nexus of social relationships, who is asked to present that self under conditions that make him largely responsible for defining what happens during the interchange.

During the interview the respondent was attended to not only as a person in a social relationship but as a person in process with a past, an imagined future, and a present in flux. In this connection the interview was used as a sample stress experience in order to observe how the individual adapts, defends himself against, or masters the stresses inherent in the life process. The interview was actually a very mild stress experience for most of these young men, since the interviewer was an accustomed figure in C Unit life and for many of them a ducat from the one woman on the counseling staff was an event arousing envy among their fellows. Nevertheless, as a "free space" governed by the minimum of rules and without explicit expectations as to what they would do with it, it was sufficiently different from the rest of reformatory life to leave the respondents momentarily off balance and forced to use their customary means for regaining balance. As a result each respondent came "through" to the interviewer a little "larger than life." In a longer relationship one would gain more understanding of the individual, both in depth and in detail. However, one would expect the "style of life" evidenced in this original interview to remain fairly consistent over time. And the components of this life style—way of perceiving and structuring social relations and pattern for dealing with a problem situation (to mention only two)—constitute important indicators for the general outline of a beginning treatment plan.

Finally, the content of each interview was focused on the individual in interaction with other people in the basic social relations through which he had expressed his moral orientations in the past and would continue to express them in the future. Almost any story about the individual's life was pertinent for the interviewer's purposes so long as the discussion included examples of experiences with family, peers,

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doing something to the client" is important for developing trust in the offender, who tends to see all authority persons as wanting to change the fundamental him. By the time a jointly agreed plan for work is established, the offender has become, in some sense, a "voluntary" client.

officials, and opportunity systems, and of trouble with the law. Those respondents who made some effort to explain themselves to the interviewer generally gave enough detail about their lives to sketch a chronology of experience. But the interviewer was more interested in what was reported spontaneously about the crucial topics than in a more complete story of the individual's life, since each episode was seen as a sample of the person remembering himself in social action rather than as information per se.[3]

SELECTED REFERENCES

A number of reference items speak to one or another facet of this approach to understanding whole persons in social process.

Klapp, Orrin E. Heroes, Villains and Fools: The Changing American Character. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1962.

Discusses the social stereotype, in which a personality style is caught in a word or phrase, as one process in establishing and presenting identity. See especially Introduction, pp. 1-27, and Chapter 2, "Villians," pp. 50-68.

Lynd, Helen Merrell. On Shame and the Search for Identity. New York: Science Editions, Inc., 1961. (Paperback, $1.95)

In two chapters, "Contemporary Study of Personality" and "Emerging Ways of Studying Personality," pp. 73-181, the author proposes that methods of studying the "style and organization" of personality rather than the details of personality components are essential if we are to understand the human experiences that "catch the quick of oneself" and so reveal identity.

Laing, R. D., and Esterson, A. Sanity, Madness and the Family. Volume I, Families of Schizophrenics. London: Tavistock Publications, 1964.

Case stories of schizophrenic women, the data for which was collected by research interviews with the women and their families, reported in terms of the interaction among the family members. The introduction, pp. 1-13, is a beautifully clear statement of this kind of approach to "persons, the relations among persons and the characteristics of the family as a system composed of a multiplicity of persons"; and of the process the authors used for discovering "each person's perspective on the situation that he shares with others." (Italics theirs)

Siporin, Max. "The Concept of Social Types in Casework Theory and Practice," Social Casework, XLI (May 1960), pp. 234-242.

Applies the concept of social types to the process of casework diagnosis and treatment.

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[3] After recording the interview, the interviewer read the individual's case record and discussed him with his counselor who was asked to respond to the recording. In all cases except #11 (Barry), in which the respondent explicitly refused to discuss his own experiences, the information received and the "guesses" made by the interviewer proved sufficiently accurate to provide the base for initial action. In preparing the interview recordings for this set of teaching materials, certain information, gained outside of the research interview, has been noted in order to provide corroborating or linking details for the reader.

Mogulof, Melvin B. "Delinquency Intervention Based on Person and Situation," Social Work, IX, 2 (April 1964), pp. 42-50.

Focuses the attention of social workers on the interaction between an individual and his social situation in work with delinquents.

Gill, Merton M., *et al*. The Initial Interview in Psychiatric Practice (with phonograph records available to professional persons and institutions). New York: International Universities Press, 1954.

A psychoanalyst and his colleagues discuss the diagnostic usefulness of the immediate interchange occurring in the initial interview.

case study 1

ONE–HOUR INTERVIEW

RED

RED is a husky twenty-five-year-old whose father owns the local air conditioning service in a wealthy, intellectually snobbish suburb. Red is in the institution for an assault that occurred at the end of a series of beach skirmishes between a college crowd and Red's friends. The victim was seriously injured and the offense therefore aroused an unusually strong public reaction.

Consequently Red's stay in the institution has been prolonged. Before he was assigned to C Unit he had already been in the institution four years; and throughout this period he was known as a particularly irritating hoodlum. Every staff member in the institution, even secretaries, can report lurid stories revealing Red's apparently deliberate flouting of authority. He has been a star member of the institutional clique that mans the roughest—and therefore unbeatable—football team. Since Red has been in C Unit (now about six months) he has assumed a vigorous leadership in group activities and evidences an eager friendliness toward members of the Unit staff that no one outside the Unit will believe. According to other officials in the institution we are being conned.

At the beginning of the interview Red seemed pale and nervous, but he quickly dropped his initial clichés and began to talk directly to me. He continued to shift about in his chair and to gesture awkwardly, as though he had a great deal to communicate very quickly and had to use his big body in the effort to make himself clear. Early in the interview he became flushed and once or twice seemed close to tears. Much of his talk consisted of illustrative stories about his experiences and in each he remembered to tell how he felt at the time. He seemed almost naïvely unguarded in his revelations of self. The basic expression of his face was both arrogant and petulant, reminding me of a spoiled four-year-old brat. When he talked of his own prowess the sagging lines of his prematurely aged little-boy face rearranged themselves in expressions of superficial manliness, then relaxed into weakness.

PERCEPTION OF SOCIAL WORLD

Red perceives people as there to like him. Given his history both in and out of the institution, the lack of reported hostility, either his own or that of others, was noticeable. "People have always liked me, even the police who treated me better than you would expect in view of the trouble I caused them."

In these relations Red reports himself as acting to attract the liking of others; if not their liking then at least their attention. He referred obliquely to his earlier history in the institution by saying, "You know, I could go out on that corridor now and get a lot of attention just by starting a fight. It would take months to get any attention by walking back and forth just doing what I am supposed to do." He talks much of his family and their love for him; in this context the feeling tone is one of generalized affection. He seems more poignantly concerned with attracting the love of his younger brother and sister.

> My sister is eight years old, real cute, a living doll. I call her my little girl friend. [Here he was close to tears.] And there's my brother, fifteen years old, the awkward stage. Just starting sports and poorly coordinated. I want to get out there and teach him how to handle himself. I like children.

Even the unlikeliest peers are seen as potential affectional resources.

> There's that guy in the caseload group who always makes stupid remarks, clear off the subject. I was sure sarcastic to him in the meeting last week, really cut him down. I'm trying not to do that kind of thing because, who knows, maybe the guy who looks most stupid might be the friendliest person there.

With officials, Red has recently formulated a rule of thumb for getting attention in a pleasant way. "You know, I have just begun to realize, it's a matter of respect. You give them respect and then they respect you."

Other people seem to have reality for Red primarily as reference points to describe his own situation. "My twenty-year-old brother has a T-bird and is going into business with my father. That is where I should have been." "The people I can't stand in here are the hypes.[1] I used to be real hep on jazz but since I've been in C Unit I've given it up. The hypes hang around the record player for hours just going on trips.[2] I got real teed off at Mr. W. [his counselor] because he said I used sports for the same kind of escape." As he talks he seldom individualizes other persons, speaking of most people as members of classes: the officers; my teachers; my decent friends; the bad crowd; hypes; the police. The rules Red formulates to guide relations between himself and members of these classes are equally generalized and undiscriminating: e.g., all officials are authority figures and the rule for dealing with them is to give respect; the rule for family relations is love whether the person concerned is his psychologically distant father, his remorseful mother, his competing brother, or the sister who is a "living doll."

SELF-IMAGE

Red sees himself as one who has been foolish and heedless, not caring what he did or what happened, not thinking about consequences, but doing whatever occurred to him at the moment.

> I have always liked excitement. If anything wild was going on I was there. And I don't have any patience. I always had to have that car right now. For instance, when I got out of the first camp they sent me to, I was working at a bakery nights and going to school days. Do you suppose I could wait and save my money? No. My first salary check went for a down payment on a car. Just like that.

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[1] Hypes: Drug addicts.

[2] Tripping: An inmate term for rambling conversation about life on the outside, in which each recounts either real stories or fantasies about "good times," feats of daring, "jobs I've pulled," women, etc.

Red also sees himself as a rather special person.

> I'm pretty bright, you know. School was always too easy for me. I know more about using tools than my boss in here will ever know. But I go along with his way even if he tells me to do it wrong. Then he brags about me. I don't belong in a class with the people in here. If you came in here as a visitor and saw me along with all the others and heard some obscenity then you couldn't help but class me along with all these others who live like animals. You wouldn't notice that I come from a good class of people who know how to behave respectably. I figure I can do most anything I put my mind to and do it well.

Red feels he has grown up since the earlier days because he now cares what happens and his goals have changed. "I'm not like what I was. Something has changed in me. I just don't want excitement any more. I think about what I can do with my family like taking my mother out. I never wanted to do that kind of thing before. Now I just want to be happy." When I pressed him for what he means by happiness he said: "I don't want no excitement. I've had too much of that. Just a wife and children and a decent job." But even this vision of a relatively humdrum life in the future shows Red actively seeking attention.

> Maybe when I have a business of my own I can be a member of some service club like the 20-30's. I'm using the caseload group to learn how you help people to organize and how you get along with everyone in the group. I try to get the other guys to talk so we can get things done. Maybe I can be an officer in a service club sometime just the way I represent my caseload group on the Welfare Fund Board. . . . I would like to coach a Little League team when I get outside. There is a skill in training people who are new to sports. I'm in the C Unit football team now because there are a lot of green men on the squad and I figure I can learn by trying to teach them.

But whether Red is talking of himself as the heedless hedonist of the past or the responsible leader of the future, his self fills the view-finder of his mind's eye. He is the central actor around whom others revolve.

MORAL ORIENTATIONS

Red verbally accepts full responsibility for the trouble he has gotten into. He reports that his mother claims responsibility:

> She says "We spoiled you first and then didn't pay enough attention to what you were doing after your brother was born. We weren't strict enough and didn't give you enough love." I tell her, "It wasn't your fault. I was a grown man when I got into this trouble."

However, Red is puzzled about the reasons for his violent behavior.

> I can't figure it out. Perhaps I just hadn't grown up. I'm glad I was stopped. I would have killed somebody. Any fight that was going I was in it. . . . (Were you angry?) No, it wasn't being angry. But when I am drunk and with a crowd where anything goes, then it is all right to get into a fight. If you are fighting the

> others join in. If one of them is fighting you give him help. . . .I act different with the decent crowd. I can drink and not get into trouble because that wouldn't go with them. But with the bad crowd everybody expects you to act like that. Anything goes—within reason of course.

His story of the instant offense reveals the way his wild behavior can snowball into extremes of destructive activity. He went out to the beach with his crowd one evening already edgy and looking for trouble because his brother had been out a few days before with his girl friend and had been annoyed by some college students. A college crowd was preparing food around a fire and some insults were exchanged. As the episode developed Red found himself getting angry because the party they were annoying wouldn't fight. Then one of the college men knocked Red down.

> He was littler than I am and then I was really angry. But I was drunk at the time and was ready to do anything. . . .I'll tell you the way it really happened, though I know the Parole Board will never believe me. At least this is the way I remember it. I picked up a board and swung at the guy, but it was just rotten driftwood and broke in half without even hitting him. I saw him run back into his crowd about twenty feet and then one of my crowd really got him with a two-by-four. I remember feeling scared when I saw the student was having a hard time walking—his friends were trying to pick him up. I was sure something bad was going to happen so I took off in my car. About seven miles away I met the police cars racing with red lights flashing and sirens going, so then I knew it was really going to be bad. I went home and didn't say anything. When my mother told me the next day that a policeman was at the house looking for me I took off and only came home after I thought things had cooled down. They picked me up when I was in bed the first night I was back.

Apparently bail was arranged for the seven youths who had been identified as part of the attacking group and they were slated to stand trial together. But the night before the trial, Red went out on a drunken binge. When a police car signaled him to stop after he went through a red light, he took off at 80 miles an hour down a crowded highway, leading a police chase that ended only when his own car crashed into a telephone pole. Red tells this story with rueful amazement at his own ability to create havoc. "I am sure the case went worse for me because I was the only defendant brought in from the jail in handcuffs and all banged up. Naturally the witness picked me as the assailant."

Red shows concern for what he has done to his own life and to his family, but evidences neither guilt nor feeling for others whom he may have hurt in his violent escapades. When he talks of people he has beaten they do not seem to be real persons against whom he felt anger; they were simply faceless people in the way when he was in one of his "anything goes" states. What bothers him now are "the parole dates I lost and having to tell my family about the last Board denial."

> One of the counselors wrote my mother I was doing fine in the institution. How could I explain why I lost my parole date? They felt so badly about it. But I'm glad they kept me here. I think I would have been back if I had gone out the first year. I was still thinking I was tough and could get away with anything.

Also, "I've begun to worry about all this time I am losing. I should be out there where my brother is, earning a good salary, with a fine car, and ready to manage my father's business."

At any given time Red's behavior seems to reflect the expectations of others who are currently in a position to give him special attention more than the dictates of an internalized moral code.

> On the outside I always had two groups of friends—the decent crowd and the bad crowd. My friends from the decent crowd stuck with me even when I got into the worst trouble. Some of them even came around when I was out on bail and tried to straighten me out. I just listened and said "Sure, sure." I didn't pay any real attention to what they were saying. You see, with them I felt more like a follower. I kind of went along with whatever they were doing when I was with them. But with the hoodlum element it was different. See, they would call me up, and ask me what I wanted to do. Seemed like they expected me to be a leader. The wilder I was the more they looked up to me.

In the institution the same mechanism seems to be working. Outside of C Unit it has been easier for Red to get staff attention by acting the hoodlum. In the C Unit system where status, visibility, and high interaction are achieved more easily by program activity than by forbidden behavior, Red has "changed" in both his current behavior and his fantasied goals for the future.

FAMILY ROLE

Red has heard from his mother and from counselors about his dethronement from the central place in his family at age five. Repeatedly he has been told that he was intensely competitive with the brother who was born at that time.

> I don't remember much about that. I do remember being real mean to the kid. But it's funny, I like him now. He's nearly twenty and our interests are more the same. He has really stood by me. He has an apartment of his own now, and I expect I will live with him when I get out. We'll do things together—we're really close now."

Although the family has been outwardly stable and economically comfortable, the parents seemed to have played little part in Red's growing up. As he remembers it, "I would say 'Sure, sure' and then just walk away, go out on my own, when they tried to talk to me." Red spent a lot of time with other boys, going out fishing, spending weekends with a crowd at a lake where his friend's parents owned a cabin. "You see, this boy's father liked that kind of thing and would come out with us for the whole weekend. My father never was interested in sports. Maybe that had something to do with my getting in trouble." Red's only other comment about his father is that he expects to work in his business when he gets out on parole. "I never would have wanted to work for my father before."

Red had a steady girl friend from the "decent crowd" when he went into the armed services, and they wrote regularly until he started drinking and getting into trouble. Then he gradually wrote less to her, although she still showed interest. He wouldn't want her writing to him in a place like this, but regrets having lost this relationship. He wants a family of his own when he gets out, but these ideas are vague. He talks more like a little boy still looking for love and security in his parental home than like a man ready to establish his own family.

ROLE WITH PEERS

The peer group provides a major source of satisfaction for Red, and he looks to it for liking, prestige, and guides for behavior. He has apparently always had access to two kinds of friends—the "decent group" and the "bad group." At least three times in his life he has made crucial choices between groups, each time choosing to belong to the "bad group" because there he felt looked up to and supported in his search for excitement.

When Red was first in high school he was a freshman football player who gave promise of being star material. He spent weekends with the decent crowd engaged in outdoor sports. However, he started also running around with a tough bunch and began to slough off football practice. "I guess I thought I could make the team anyway." He lost out in football. It was at this time he got involved in car stealing and was sent to a boys' camp for a year.[3]

When he returned from this institution Red took up with the decent group again, entering high school and once again working for a place on the football squad. However, he also wanted a car so he got a job in a bakery working from midnight to eight A.M., after which he went to school and then played football in the afternoon. He found he couldn't keep up this schedule but, because he was now making heavy payments for the car, he gave up football and kept the job. The car made him very popular with the tough crowd. He reports ruefully that often he would have the car payment in his pocket when someone called him to go out on the town. Then the money would be used for a wild time.

Apparently it seemed important to his family and to the probation officer to get him off the streets once more, so Red enlisted in the armed services before he graduated from high school. He went to boot camp with two buddies from the decent crowd and all three were sent to a second post for special training. Red and one friend made the first third in the class and were offered advanced training. The third friend flunked and was scheduled to go overseas. Red said he felt he had to choose between one friend and the other, so he turned down the training offer and asked for an overseas assignment. He was located on a small island in the Pacific where there was little to do and began to drink and get into trouble. The result was a dishonorable discharge.

Red insists that the decent group were still available to him after he got home from the service, but this time he apparently made little effort to maintain his relations with them. His drinking and running with the "hoodlum element" ended in the present commitment. He repeatedly talked about the difference in his feeling when he was with the two kinds of groups: "With the decent crowd I knew certain things weren't acceptable so I didn't do them. When I was with the bad group I felt anything goes."

ROLE WITH OFFICIALS

Red seems especially to admire officials who are tough with him but who also treat him decently. He spoke of an eighth-grade teacher, a woman, who picked him up by the seat of his pants the first day he came into class and rubbed his nose along the blackboard. "She was showing me who was boss. The funny thing is that I really liked that teacher and I did good work while I was in her class. She was interested in me and taught me a lot." During his second try at high school Red had the football coach as an English teacher. "He liked me and gave me special assignments. For the first time I got A's in English. I never could stand the subject before." He remembers with pleasure a huge ex-wrestler who let him out of jail after one of his escapades. He made some comment to Red, who offered to punch him in the nose. The guard responded that Red had better not come back to that jail or he personally would take Red apart.

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[3] An unusually severe disposition, given Red's family background.

> Six weeks later I was back. He didn't do anything to me though I was scared because he had a right to for the nasty things that I had said to him. See, he was an officer and I was just a puny young tough. I found out that when I treated him with respect and called him Mister, he would always treat me with respect and call me Mister too—no cussing me out.

Red assumes a manipulative stance toward his present work supervisor, whom he perceives as "building me up more than I'm worth."

> He keeps bragging about all the work I do, but nobody in this institution works all that hard. He is so proud of me he even keeps loaning me out. At first I didn't like the idea of doing other people's work, but I found out the thing to do was to say "Yes, Mr. A" and then he brags about me. In the meantime I get a chance to go all over the institution and try my hand at different jobs. I keep the shop cleaned up for him and was he pleased when we were rated the cleanest shop in the institution on the last custody review. He shows me how he wants things done and even though he wants them done the wrong way I go along with his way. I've been around tools a lot and know how to use them, but Mr. A. says "Now this is the way you do it" so I say OK and do it his way even though it's harder than the right way. What you have to do is respect the man and he respects you.

OPPORTUNITY SYSTEM EXPERIENCES

Red has obviously had many opportunities to achieve a respectable place for himself in the community. His family provided a base for association with other law-abiding persons. He was intellectually and physically equipped for a sports career in a middle-class high school. And in the armed services he was offered a chance to move above the enlisted man's basic position. At the same time Red has had access to a fringe group of young toughs who occupied their time stealing cars, burglarizing, getting drunk, fighting, and tearing up the town. This illegitimate opportunity system proved more rewarding to his needs for short-term excitement, permission to act out, and attention from officials and peers than the legitimate programs where self-discipline and performance were required for achieving a place in the sun.

RESPONSE TO STRESS

Stress for Red seems to arise out of situations where external limits are lacking and liking can be attracted irresponsibly. Under such conditions he seems driven to wilder and wilder efforts to get dramatic attention. He is somewhat frightened by the momentum of acting out that takes him over under such circumstances.

RESPONSE TO HELP

Red's response to helping persons, as it is evidenced in C Unit, is warm and uncomplicated but not specifically related to resolving psychological problems. About his counselor he said:

> I really like Mr. W. We haven't talked much about why I got into trouble, but he is really interested in a guy. Like he will explain to me what I need to know, run it down to me in a way I can understand. And if I want something done he will look into it right away as though he really cares about a guy. I never would take this kind of a question to a counselor before. They were always too busy to care. You go to see them if they bother to get around to you and first thing you get is a lecture.

In response to me in the research interview, Red seemed tremendously pleased with the attention and wanted to stay on talking after the time was up. I noted some readiness on his part to start pattern-making. I had commented that at the armed service technical school he had made a choice of friends without thinking of his own future, something like other choices he had made before. Red went on to link this episode with others, saying thoughtfully, "Maybe that is what I have been doing all my life." He seems genuinely puzzled about how he got into his present mess and groping for an explanation. Although here in the institution he cannot get concrete about his future, he is trying to sketch a way of life that will involve choosing "the decent crowd." He may be ready for focused help in work toward self-understanding.

case study 2

ONE & ONE HALF–HOUR INTERVIEW

JOSEPH

JOSEPH (age 28) is a slight, wiry man, stiff in posture and sombre in expression. At first he seemed very nervous about the interview, sweating profusely, pushing his visored cap back and forth on his head, and repeatedly wiping his face. Early in the interview he spoke of himself as "anxious." When I asked what he meant by this he said, "I can't sit still very long any time." His gestures had a tic-like mechanical quality and appeared unrelated to the content of his communications. Even later, when he seemed relaxed, stretching his arms across the backs of two adjacent chairs and talking quite freely, he continued to use his hands in random jerky motions.

When I said I would like to get acquainted with him, Joseph blurted out a quick statement about his "beef"[1] and then said almost desperately, "Why don't you ask me questions? I don't know what to tell you." By the end of the interview he was volunteering information quite easily, ending with the comment, "You can ducat[2] me up any time you want to." Throughout our conversation he used correctly words not customarily found in the vocabularies of uneducated Mexicans, such as the adjective "taciturn" to describe his father.

PERCEPTION OF SOCIAL WORLD

Joseph's view of the social world is constricted and colorless, focused almost entirely on his own striving toward utilitarian goals. Single-mindedly he gives attention to his need for money, to his efforts to prepare for a trade in which he can "get ahead," to C Unit as "the best unit I have ever been in, in any institution, because it has opportunities for a man to better himself if he wants to."

When Joseph mentioned people, he referred chiefly to how they contributed to or blocked this goal-striving. Conspicuously absent were the anecdotes, the observations of others, and the expressions of feeling that so often pepper an inmate's conversation when he is given an opportunity to talk freely about his own life. He did not speak of loving others or of a need to be liked; even more noticeable was the absence of expressed hostility. Although his wife seems to have provided his only long-term meaningful relationship, he speaks of her primarily as a tool controlled by his will. "She does what I tell her to. She knows who is boss." He was detached about himself also, giving his rare laugh as he spoke of his early unsophisticated attempts at burglary, possibly expressing a remote contempt for that inefficient early self.

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[1] Beef: Offense for which he is presently committed.

[2] Ducat: Written pass to some official program assignment or interview.

SELF-IMAGE

Joseph sees himself almost exclusively as a striver in the economic world who seeks to establish a base in any system that will reward him financially. Up to the eighth grade in school, "I got A grades. I wanted to be a doctor." This was said with a self-deprecatory grin as though he were commenting, "I should have known better than to aim that high." When he got to high school he started to steal because

> I had no money. (What did you want money for?) Clothes, lunches, what other boys had. My father always drank up most of the week's wages. Sometimes we didn't have no food at home. I don't know how my mother managed. Anyway I never had no money for school.

During grade school Joseph picked up the art of shoplifting from another boy. Characteristically he formulated greater plans for himself. "I got smarter though. I wanted to be a real criminal. I couldn't get money any other way. I decided to be smart and make a real good living for myself." Joseph organized a group of younger boys for systematic stealing. His first burglary at age thirteen was a fiasco.

> We broke into this warehouse, me and three others. There were lots of valuable things lying around but we didn't have enough sense to pick out the items that would get us the most money. We just grabbed for what was closest and piled our arms high. There we were, staggering down the street at three A.M., with armfuls of clothing, not even knowing what to do with the stuff now we had it. All I could think of was to hide it under the house I lived in.

Although Joseph tried to plan his later stealing efforts more efficiently, he lived in a disintegrated Mexican slum where most people were using drugs, without access to more sophisticated criminals who could train and protect him. By the time Joseph was placed on probation and, later, sent to a youth corrections institution, he was already using drugs to dull the bitterness of his doubly frustrated ambitions.

Joseph learned shoe repairing during his first stay in an institution, and for most of his parole period he worked both as a shoe-repair man and as a shoe salesman. He likes sales work and reported no difficulty in getting and keeping jobs so long as he stayed away from "the people."[3] A short separation from his wife precipitated his return to drugs; and later Joseph was sent to the reformatory as a parole violator. Here he asked for and received an assignment to the dry-cleaning shop. His current goal for himself is to own a small business, and dry cleaning does not require too much initial capital outlay. In his spare time he is studying real estate law, hoping to be able to take the examination for a broker's license and ultimately to build up this business as a sideline. "I'll probably have to wait until I am off parole. I'm not sure about this. Real estate is a good line to have for making real money." He has instructed his wife to take courses in accounting so she will be able to keep books when he has his own business. All Joseph's present activities and future plans are dominated by his single-minded striving to achieve in his own life the stereotype of the American small businessman.

Joseph's presentation of self reflects almost no awareness of himself as a member of groups. Most noticeable is the fact that he does not think of himself as a Mexican although he grew up in a small city where Mexicans are openly segregated and barred from social advantages. With his youthful gang of would-be burglars, Joseph was the organizer of a task group rather than involved in bonds of friendship; and when he retreats to "the people" it is an expression of loss of his chosen identity, not because he feels that he belongs with them.

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[3] The people: the drug-using crowd.

MORAL ORIENTATIONS

Joseph does not think of his stealing as bad. Stealing was simply an effort to secure the economic resources he needed, an effort in which he failed. He has smoked marijuana since he was age twelve, "Everybody in my neighborhood smoked or took dope." Because Joseph had ambitions for himself, "I was the last in my crowd to use heroin. But I always knew I would give in some time when they kept urging me to take a fix. I had one shot and I liked it." More recently he thinks of himself as turning to drugs only when he is upset and lacking in self-direction, as when he discovered his wife's infidelity and they were temporarily separated. "I won't use the stuff again provided things don't go to pieces on me." Again he makes no value judgment about his use of drugs, simply noting that it follows an experience of breakdown in economic and personal efficiency.

On only one occasion, while he was talking about his wife, did Joseph evidence remorse or concern about his behavior. He first knew the girl who is now his wife in the seventh grade at school and they were married early. "We sort of had to." (Was there going to be a baby?) Joseph flinched and shook his head. "I don't want to talk about it." I commented that I didn't want to push him about matters he would rather not discuss, but I was interested to understand how, in the lonely life he was describing, he had managed to keep such a long, apparently close relationship with one person. Joseph burst out with real feeling, "I've been real mean to her. I used to beat her."

FAMILY ROLE

Joseph remembers no closeness among any persons in his parental family. "I guess I was a little closer to my mother than to my father. He was a very taciturn man." He had "brothers and sisters" but he mentions none of them as individuals. "I guess my mother must have loved my father. Anyway, she never left him although he was bad to her."

Joseph's wife, whom he married at sixteen, seems to be his only close and continuing relationship. "She's proud of me and brags about me. I don't see what she has to be so proud about." Her infidelity occurred while he was away at the first institution, and as a result they were separated during part of his parole. The knowledge of her unfaithfulness "really shook me up. It got me, man. It got me in my pride." Although he can't explain how the change came about he began to realize that he had really given her a bad time and that she could be excused on this basis. "I got to understand her side of it too, but it was hard." However, by the time he and his wife began to live together again he was already on heroin. He thinks of her as "a good girl. She only takes pills once in a while. I would never let her get on the stuff." She continues to obey him implicitly, although after she returned to him he no longer beat her.

Although his two children come with his wife when she visits him in the reformatory, they are not real in Joseph's conversation. "I haven't had a chance to live with them very much." Somehow his family is also perceived as an economic unit, with his wife as bookkeeper and his children as responsibilities.

ROLE WITH PEERS

Joseph himself says "I am a loner." Although he does not speak of himself as lonely, he saw himself as separated out from his slum crowd by his early devotion to school, good grades, and ambition to be a doctor. Later he took an organizing role, relating to his fellow thieves around "tasks" rather than in terms of friendship or group bonds. With "the people" his relationships are amorphous. In the reformatory, Joseph spends much of his time in his room reading, picks his companions as individuals, thinks he may have two "friends" in the institution. It is as though he has never been accustomed to thinking of people as sources of emotional satisfaction. He is his own primary resource; he turns to others only when they are needed to accomplish a goal. And under these circumstances he provides the brains and ability needed to manage the limited resources available to the Mexican groups with whom he has been thrown.

ROLE WITH OFFICIALS

Joseph looks for competence that he can respect in those who are set over him and expects as a matter of course to be seen by them as "a workman," "an inmate," or "a parolee." He asks that they teach him skills but not that they like him. He seems to enter cooperatively into these emotionally neutral roles, speaking of only one official with whom he has had trouble.

He liked his first probation officer, whom he met in his early teens, remembering his name and commenting, "He was a decent guy." In institutions Joseph has had no trouble and has got on well with his trade instructors. Dryly, Joseph reports his first parole officer as hostile.

> He told me right off that he hated drug addicts. I didn't have a job before I left the institution, so I had agreed to take a laboring job they found for me in a little town where there was nothing to do. I had already decided I would get out of the institution and then find work for myself. I told my parole officer I wanted to go hunt for shoe-repair work in a nearby city. He made fun of me, threatened to revoke me right off. But I persuaded him to let me have one half day for job hunting. I found a job right off and then I was transferred out of his district.

Joseph does not speak as though he disliked the parole officer as a man; he simply resented his ability to interfere with work toward a goal. At no point does Joseph evidence generalized hostility in his stance toward authority persons.

OPPORTUNITY SYSTEM EXPERIENCES

Joseph's apparent capacity and his positive orientations toward learning and work suggest that his disadvantaged place in the community has much to do with his failures. Clearly neither his family, his neighborhood, nor his early schooling offered him realistic pathways to a stable position in the legitimate business structure. His only trade training has been provided in correctional institutions. At the same time the pressures in the particular subculture to which he is relegated by virtue of being a Mexican and a parolee are all in the direction of retreat into drugs when faced with failure. Apparently no responsible official up to this time has assessed Joseph's potential, helped him match his goals to what is possible, and mobilized the social resources essential if he is to make a contribution within the economic system to which he is devoted.

RESPONSE TO STRESS

Joseph seems to experience stress in any unstructured social situation where roles are ambiguous and he lacks means for action toward goals. One of his responses to stress appeared in the interview with me, the somatic tic-like nervousness accompanied by other physical evidences of anxiety such as sweating. In more crucial life experiences he responds to social disintegration by drifting to "the people" and using drugs "when things look black." For a person with this somatic retreatist pattern of reaction to stress, he seems unusually capable of single-minded striving, provided the situation is well structured and offers attainable rewards within his definition of meaningful action.

RESPONSE TO HELP

Joseph sees help as assistance in achieving his goal of economic stability. He does not reach out for feeling support, nor is he struggling to understand either himself or other people. His relationship with his wife suggests that he has a deep-lying need for emotional dependence that he can gratify only when he feels himself to be master in the relationship. Except for his wife his only resource for help with feelings seems to lie in his blurred experiences with drugs and the people who use them.

case study **3**

ONE–HOUR INTERVIEW

HANK

I TALKED with Hank five days before he was to leave the institution on parole.

I found him a youth (age nineteen) of pleasant but not striking appearance, thoughtful and attentive in response to my questions. His attitude reflected a general expectation that straightforward talking with any project staff member was a natural phenomenon in C Unit; he was neither cagey nor uneasy about an interview with a new official. At the same time he made no attempt to use the interview for emotional support or for help in thinking about the problems he will face on parole. As he described his anxieties about going out on parole and the traumatic experience of being removed from his mother when he was seven years old, he reflected a realistic perspective about both his past disturbances and his present concerns. He spoke of having clarified these matters during frequent discussions with his counselor and his parole officer. Accordingly he evidenced no need to use me as another listening ear for the discharge of feelings or the search for answers.

Although Hank spoke of himself as a "nervous" person, he seemed to refer to the heavy depressed moods he periodically experiences rather than to any generalized nervousness. His manner in the interview was alert and friendly rather than anxious.

PERCEPTION OF SOCIAL WORLD

Hank has the kind of realistic, flexible, and discriminating perception of himself and others that the middle class professional person tends to accept as "normal." He reports his experiences in social interaction without using either the stereotypes or the distortions for which one learns to listen in the talk of imprisoned offenders. When one takes into account his youth and the disrupting experiences through which he has lived, he seems unusually aware of differences among persons and of the way different social situations can affect the behavior of individuals.

For instance, Hank distinguishes explicitly between persons who treat him "like a man" and those who don't, even when they occupy the same official role, e.g., between a former parole officer and the man who is his present officer, between custody officers in a former institution and those he has met in this reformatory. Although Hank recognizes a general C Unit approach as characterizing all the project staff, he is also quite aware of different patterns in staff activity. For example, as he participated on the Welfare Fund Board he found there were times "when staff doesn't understand and drags its heels" and other times "when they really get on the ball and begin to do something." For Hank it was more important to note in these experiences that "inmates had a chance to have their say so we could finally persuade staff to take action" than to gripe about delays that had been caused (as I knew) by staff dissension.

In the same way, Hank accepts that his own behavior varies depending on his access to social resources. In a former institution "I was a bad actor. I couldn't stand to be ordered about with no choice. Here [in the reformatory] I have done all right because I am treated like a man." He is sure that what happens with his girl when he gets out on parole will affect his chances of success. "If my girl friend is waiting for me, then I know I can make it. If she isn't I don't know. I can try but I can't be sure what will happen. I'll just have to wait and see." He is also aware of the pressures on his girl that make her behavior unpredictable at this time. He has had a long relationship with her:

> She is a good girl; she doesn't smoke, drink, or use foul language. She's intelligent too and is going to college. I think she wants to go into journalism. But she is too dominated by her mother. At least that's the way I see it. After all she is eighteen years old and ought to be starting to make up her own mind about some things. But her mother is against her having anything to do with me. So I will have to wait until I get out to see what has happened between us since I have been away.

Hank showed neither hostility nor bitterness toward the girl or her mother; rather he was stating a fact about a situation that would have to change in some way if he is to take part in it.

Although Hank sees the effect of different social situations on his own behavior, he does not blame other persons for the trouble he has experienced. For instance, "My employers have always seemed to like me and I have never been fired. Every job I've lost has been my own fault." Such occurrences have often followed the sudden descent of a black, depressed mood when he doesn't care about anything and walks off the job. I asked him what seemed to trigger such a mood. "I haven't been able to tell. It might come on when I am driving to work. Or my boss chews me out for something and I say, 'You can have your job.' Or maybe he just says good morning to me and I blow it." Although other youths were involved with Hank in his last offense (check-writing) he doesn't see them as responsible for his participation in the crime. "There wasn't any pressure on me. I could have said no any time I had wanted to. We each had ideas about how to get the checks and where to use them."

In general Hank perceives individuals with varied potentialities who act in roles. He finds it possible to like and empathize with most people, excepting only those who violate his basic test for good human relationships.

> I don't consider myself superior to anybody nor do I consider anybody superior to me. We're all on the same level. But the other person may have a lot more experience than me and can teach me things I don't know. That doesn't bother me so long as it isn't him up there and me down here like two different kinds of human beings.

SELF-IMAGE

Hank sees himself as intelligent, quick to learn, a good workman, and essentially responsible for his own behavior. He feels secure about his ability to learn and work on the basis of experienced approval.

> I was doing good in school until the second grade. I know you can't tell much about intelligence in those early grades but even so I was considered the top of

> the class and I liked school. It was when they took me away from my mother and sent me to a foster home that I started to mess up.

He has found work he likes here in the reformatory, having received training in auto mechanics and subsequently carrying a responsible assignment in the institution's garage. His earlier jobs were often located in service stations, where Hank feels he demonstrated a natural aptitude. His parole plan for the immediate future does not include a mechanic's job because his brother, who is a foreman on a construction job, has found a temporary place for him. "I've worked for my brother before and get along good with him." However, Hank intends to look for work in his chosen trade and to attend night school to improve his skills.

Hank's goals for himself are modest. Primarily he wants to plan for and establish an ordinary working-class home with his girl and to support this home by fixing automobile engines. He explains his earlier failure to pursue these goals by reference to his "black moods when nothing matters"; to his youthful impatience to have "everything right now. I always had to have that car when I wanted it. I couldn't wait and save or buy something cheap that I could pay for"; and to his automatic resistance to anything "mandatory."

Only in his acute sensitivity to everything arbitrary does Hank reveal a self-image inappropriate for the pursuit of the goals he has formulated for himself. He believes he can live within rules if the person giving the orders explains why the rules are necessary and if he has some freedom to make choices. But even minor sorts of arbitrariness have, at times, thrown Hank into major rebellion with drastic effects on his own record.

> I was a mess-up all the time in the last institution. In the hole[1] half the time. Everything there was mandatory. You had to go to chow even if you didn't want to eat. If it was time to go to the yard you had to go even if you wanted to stay in your room. Here at the reformatory there are some alternatives. If you don't want to go to chow you don't have to. Nobody bothers. You can figure out pretty much what is expected by the rules and do it without being ordered all the time.

This demand that the outside world overtly respect his independence is a highly valued part of Hanks self-image, and he clearly does not expect to temper his sensitivity to arbitrary behavior. He seems able to manage his reaction to authority at this point primarily by the technique of anticipating what is required of him in order to reduce to the minimum the direct orders he receives.

MORAL ORIENTATIONS

Hank's moral orientations are a surprising mixture of allegiance to middle-class values and criminal sophistication. Although he is clear about what is right and wrong and does not try to justify his delinquencies, he talks about the techniques of crime—ways of disposing of stolen goods or how to secure and use forged checkbooks and credit cards—like an old hand.

His delinquencies started at age seven with running away from foster homes. From this point on, he truanted and stole, progressing to car-stealing and forgery as he grew older. The story begins with his traumatic removal from his mother, an event about which he is still confused.

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[1] Hole: Inmate term for isolation cell.

> I remember taking my bike home from school that day. I always went right home, and as far as I can remember, everything had been going along all right, just the way it should be. That afternoon two of my older brothers were in a police car, and a woman from the welfare said I and my younger brother should get into the welfare car and they would take me downtown. I waited in a room for three hours and then somebody told me they were taking me for another ride. I went out and there was my mother lying on the street where she had passed out. I wanted to go to her but they wouldn't let me. I remember crying and screaming. Later I figured she must have just fainted, but then I didn't know what might have happened to her. Then they took me to a foster home where they said I would live. That night I was gone. I think my trouble started at that time. I kept running away trying to get back to my mother. Nobody would tell me what was wrong, and I still don't know. My brother says my mother couldn't manage money right, and my mother says she doesn't want to talk about it. I am still bothered about not knowing what happened, but my brother and mother say they won't talk about it, forget it, it's over and done with. I will find some way to get them to tell me about it some time.

Following this episode Hank's delinquent career was predictable. Although initially he was a ward of the court as a dependent, he was soon put on probation for truancy and stealing. Before long he was sent to an institution for delinquent boys and later transferred to another institution for difficult youth. In both he was a "troublemaker." "I blow up when I'm told what I have to do with no reason. Cuss out the man.[2] Maybe hit at him. Then I'd go to the hole."

As an adolescent on parole, Hank stole because he wanted to be flashy with girls.

> I guess girls enter into it quite a bit. I wanted to make an impression, show I had more than the other guy. I could always work—once I was carrying three jobs—but I wasn't willing to wait. Then just when things were going good I would get one of my moods and walk off the job. Then I'd have to get money these other ways.

By this time Hank knew where to go to make criminal contacts; he had met the semiprofessional thieves and fences in his home town. "I've been around that area a long time and there are people I know who can get me what I want."

It is interesting that Hank does not think of his criminal associates as friends. He reports three good friends in his home town, each of whom he has known for six to eight years, none of whom have been "inside." Clearly his preferences are for a more stable way of life and he does not feel loyalty to a delinquent group culture. Rather, for Hank delinquent or criminal activity has been a way of solving a series of problems: trying to get back to his mother; supporting himself during his runaways; dealing with authorities who assume he is a bad actor; financing his car and his activities with girls after a "black mood" has disrupted his employment. In the process he has been introduced to criminal persons and pathways and, because he is a quick learner, he has picked up the necessary techniques. He does not blame these persons or others for his illegitimate activities. He has simply learned from them how to make do when he fails in legitimate systems.

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[2] The man: Always an official authority person; in the institution, usually a custody officer.

In one interview it is not possible to discern how far Hank's taste for an acceptable way of life has been damaged by his exposure to criminal practices. In C Unit he has responded positively to opportunities to act as a responsible social being. But it is clear that he does know how to use illegitimate activities for survival when he is faced with difficulties. How much, at this point, he may also need the excitements of delinquency is not clear.

FAMILY ROLE

Since age seven, Hank has been without a stable role in a family. He thinks his stepfather was in the home before he was removed from it; his own father, whom he does not know, "had been gone a long time." There was a series of foster homes from which he ran away, none of which he remembers with any clarity. Three of his older brothers have achieved stability and he has been in each of their homes for a short period. During adolescence he was returned to his mother's home, but this experiment failed because "we didn't get along together and she had a child with my stepfather by that time." In between placements Hank has either supported himself in some fashion —stealing or working—or has been in institutions. Only the one older brother who has given Hank limited information about the breakup of his mother's home now offers a continuing family relationship as he goes out on parole.

Somehow, in spite of these disjunctive experiences, Hank has formed an image of the stable home he wants to build for himself; and he has picked a girl whose life exemplifies the values of stability, a girl to whom he has been devoted for many years. One wonders if he knows how to live in such a home and if he is now able to help create one.

ROLE WITH PEERS

Hank's peer relationships evidence a cooperative spirit and a capacity for give and take. In C Unit groups he says he likes to take the initiative—he spoke with pleasure about how he and one other inmate proposed and helped to organize the model automobile interest group—but he doesn't think of himself as a leader and does not want the responsibility of elected office.

> I don't want to be president or even sergeant-at-arms. Then everyone looks at you and expects you to get things done. You have too many obligations. I do want to be able to have my say and get things explained to me even if the group doesn't do just what I want it to do.

In spite of this preference, Hank has been the representative from the case load group to the Welfare Fund Board and has discharged this responsibility with determination and apparent enjoyment. As he reports his operation with his "crime partners" in stealing and cashing checks he gives the same impression of good-humored teamwork around a joint task.

ROLE WITH OFFICIALS

Hank is very clear about what he expects from persons in authority over him. He wants superiors to treat subordinates with respect. In response to this kind of treatment he expects himself to operate productively. When I asked for details about what he meant by being "treated like a man" he reported experiences with C Unit staff members. His counselor had listened to his request for a job change and looked into the possibilities immediately. The project supervisor took time to see the inmates who were proposing a model automobile interest group and assigned a staff member to work with them. When I asked how he got along with the C Unit custody officers, Hank responded, "I am speaking about them especially. After all I have more to do with them than with the rest of the staff." With officals outside the project Hank has developed an explicit technique for avoiding clashes with authority: he gets all the information he can about what he is supposed to do so he can follow the rules without requiring direct orders. For Hank's relations with officials the single factor of respectful treatment overrides all other considerations. Personal idiosyncracies apparently are either not noticed or do not matter so long as the superior explains, provides alternatives, and treats him as an individual. At this point in time Hank seems to be able to like and work well for any official who maintains this stance toward his subordinates.

OPPORTUNITY SYSTEM EXPERIENCES

All Hank's experiences with opportunity systems seem to have been affected by the early breakup of his home. Before that event he had been doing well in school; since then he has been a truant, a runaway, and a delinquent. Beginning early he has gone through all stages of the correctional system, with successive extrusions from each agency to the next more severe. In between he has had interrupted experiences with employment, each job apparently offering him some opportunity to achieve stability but each terminated by his own impulsive "blowing it." During his various delinquent exposures, he has found his way into the community criminal opportunity system and has apparently achieved some sophistication in regard to it. He has not finished high school in the various institutions to which he has been committed. In the reformatory he was finally placed in a useful trade-training program and he now feels he has some skills and a focus of interest which should permit him to establish himself in the legitimate work world.

RESPONSE TO STRESS

Disorganizing stress is experienced by Hank when there is intolerable interference with his life pattern by external authority. He also experiences severe stress from not-understood psychological sources (his periodic depressed moods) probably causally related to the traumatic separation from his mother. His reaction to either kind of stress is explosive or impulsive action often leading to behavior that is defined as delinquent—whether in the institution or outside.

RESPONSE TO HELP

Hank is warmly responsive to help when it is responsive to his felt need. I mentioned to him the frequent inmate comment that "no person can help another, a man has to help himself." Hank grinned and said that of course a man has to "help himself to get help" but that he felt there is no disrespect to oneself involved in learning from someone else with more experience and wisdom. On the other hand, Hank is clearly independent and does not go around perceiving other people as placed in the world primarily to take care of him. One would expect him to be economical in using help, since there was no spillover in the relationship with me about problems he had already worked through with his parole officer and his counselor. He reported discussions with his counselor about what made him get into trouble and what he should do about his girl, as well as help with procedural matters. He feels well related to his parole agent and expects he can turn to him for discussion of personal problems as he has with his counselor in the institution.

case study **4**

ONE & ONE HALF-HOUR INTERVIEW

HARRY

I HAVE rarely met anyone so affably impervious to attempted communication as Harry. A stocky, sandy-haired twenty-one-year-old, he came in grinning, said he was willing to be interviewed and then waited for me to proceed. Although the interview lasted for an hour and a half, we had almost no connected discussion. Harry responded to every question with an automatic "I dunno" accompanied by a grin. Occasionally he added a very short sentence after which he would stare out the window self-consciously while I waited for him to go on. When I showed interest and asked for elaboration, he managed another grin and "I dunno"; then he slumped back in his chair, his square muscular body as inert as his mind seemed to be.

In the face of Harry's taciturnity I returned again and again to topics I had proffered earlier in the interview, attempting to find some new entry into an area of mutual interest. As far as I could tell Harry was not hostile toward staff nor resistant to the interview situation as such. This was apparently as good a way of spending time as any. He did seem abnormally lazy about verbal communication and completely lacking in the intellectual skills of analysis and discrimination. He did not appear stupid; rather I received the impression of completely unused intellectual ability, as though Harry has always managed to get what he wants out of life without communicative effort and so sees no reason to bother trying to express himself or to understand the communication of others.

When I probed a third time about the reason for Harry's unresponsiveness, he did comment, "If I knew you well, I would be talking a blue streak." I had a glimpse of this kind of verbal activity toward the end of the interview when I mentioned that I had recently attended the concert of a jazz musician who is currently popular among the inmates. Harry responded by discussing a recent record in a technical fashion and asking me questions about other musicians. He quickly passed my level of sophistication, and immediately lost the little interest the topic seemed to have aroused. It was clear that he perceived no area of mutuality between himself and me; and that my expressed interest in him and his life was not good enough bait to lure him into talking about himself.[1]

Because the data is so limited, it does not warrant the more sophisticated analysis implied in the interview guide. I will report what little I learned from Harry, under the topics for which I have some information.

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[1] Later I checked with Harry's counselor to learn whether this behavior was idiosyncratic for the research setting or induced by the fact that I was a woman. The counselor reported, "That's Harry. In ten months I've never found out how to get him started."

HIS OFFENSE

According to Harry, he was sent to the institution for one episode of selling drugs. He had arranged to get a fix for a friend and was actually the middleman, but in the process he was picked up by a Federal officer who was posing as the connection. Harry has never used drugs himself, but he has known it was around and where it could be gotten. He had never sold drugs before; in fact he claims to have been in trouble with the law only once before this episode, for falsifying his age on a driver's license (saying he was twenty-one when he was really eighteen).

INSTITUTIONALIZATION

Harry thinks his commitment to an institution was a heavy penalty for a first offense, but shows no particular feeling about this. In fact, he said "It was the best thing that ever happened to me." (Best? In what way?) "I dunno. It was a surprise." When I asked what had surprised him, he gave his automatic "I dunno," but agreed blandly when I asked him if he meant something like "it brought him up short and made him realize the seriousness of his behavior." Nothing about the institution bothers him much, although it will be good to get out. He has liked his trade training, butchering, but doesn't know what he likes about it. "It's a good trade."

C UNIT

If Harry had his choice and were starting at the reformatory all over again, he would choose to be in C Unit. This is because "there is always something happening to look forward to, like the library and the dinners, and that makes time go easier." No, he doesn't use the library. "The Unit is really organized." (By whom?) "By the inmates—because of the case load groups and things like the welfare fund. . . .I like to have meetings and have things to argue about. . . .There's a different kind of inmate on C Unit." (How are they different?) "I dunno. More sociable. Guys will talk to you, not stand-offish like they are in the rest of the institution." He thinks there is less racial tension on C Unit.

FAMILY

When Harry was about ten his mother and father were divorced, and he went to live for five years with his father and stepmother. He got along well with his stepmother: "She's a very intelligent woman." When he was fifteen his father was divorced again, and Harry went back to live with his mother. He got along with her very well, too. Harry is married and will go back to his wife, who has been on "welfare." She's a very nice girl; the family liked her. He has a four-month-old daughter whom he has seen. I asked about how it felt to be in the institution when his baby was born. "I dunno. I guess I missed something, I've been told it's really something to go through."

PEERS

Harry thinks he has always had friends. He's never been in a gang, "just hung around with guys." He found it hard to say what he does with leisure time when at home. "Look at television, go over to see somebody, hang around with two or three others, goof off." What kind of "goofing off" never got specified except that it wasn't drinking. Apparently jazz interests him. In the C Unit groups he seems to be a watcher of activity rather than an active participant, one who likes to have activity going on around him but is not impelled to be active himself.

PAROLE

Harry doesn't have a job to go out to but thinks he'll get "something." He has met his parole officer and thinks parole will be easy to do. "Just report in." He volunteered that he is glad not to be placed in a special group counseling program. "That's too much."

SCHOOL

Harry thinks he got along pretty well in school until about the ninth grade, when he began to "goof off." He doesn't attribute this change in his behavior to any change in his life, even to the split-up of his family; doesn't know what happened.

WORK

Harry has never had a steady employment experience. He has done some work in construction and as a truckdriver. He is going out on parole without a job but wants to get into butchering, the trade he has learned in the institution. He hasn't had enough training to qualify for the union so he will have to find himself a job and then apply to the union for admission as an apprentice. He thinks he will be able to find some sort of a job and live on his wages while he locates a butcher-shop opening. When I asked about how he expected to work full time on a job and still hunt for different employment, he said casually he was going to look for some sort of a delivery job. "I can take weekend time in the middle of the week and then use that time for job-hunting." He showed no anxiety about how he and his family were going to live if the job he wants doesn't come along. "I dunno. Find something."

IMPRESSION

Before one could get to know Harry, he would have to want something enough to put some energy into communication; and it is difficult to imagine what that something might be. He appears to have a low level of need and to be easily satisfied. His skill in good humoredly leaving the work of problem-solving up to others seems to be highly developed and quite successful in operation. His whole stance announces that he will be glad to go along for the ride—almost any ride—so long as little but conformity is asked of him. One wonders why he was sent to an institution, where this pattern of relying on outside care and producing little could only be reinforced. Surely a carefully designed probation experience in which he would have been required to deal with the tasks of real life would have revealed more clearly the nature of his problem, if any, and what should be done about it.

case study 5

ONE & ONE HALF-HOUR INTERVIEW

CLYDE

CLYDE is a tall, dark young man of twenty-one. He was quietly responsive during the interview, occasionally volunteering deeply significant information and smiling as though he were speaking of something hopeless and fated. I found myself talking very quietly with him and listening intently for signs of shying away, dealing with him a bit as though he were a wild animal who might be easily frightened into shutting off communication. He neither asked for emotional support nor withheld information. Rather he seemed to be exploring a sad life from a great distance, stating facts with no hope for change in the future. His physical laxness as he sat without moving—no variation in position except for an occasional smile—also communicated a mood of fixed depression. Even when he spoke about feeling angry, it was as though that feeling had happened to someone else. I already knew that Clyde had just been denied by the Parole Board for another year, and at first thought that this fact was responsible for his mood. His first comment to me was about his denial. But the pervasively sad atmosphere of the interview was chronic rather than situational in tone, as though Clyde had lived so long in a gray world that nothing else seemed real. "I don't like to do this time, but I have to do it."

PERCEPTION OF SOCIAL WORLD

Clyde is cold and remote in his perception of social relations. People are seen as a source of pain and he spends much of his energy in efforts to minimize their impact on himself.

He is quite explicit about the means he uses to maintain distance between himself and others. Some are more obvious: "I walk away"; "I go to my house." He refuses to have anything to do with discussion groups because there is apt to be arguing. "If I am asked to speak, I get embarrassed. Then I get angry. So I stay away." When he was asked to describe the angry feeling, he spoke of a generalized flushing, heavy beating of his heart, and disturbance in the viscera that he labels "feeling angry." He experiences this state whenever people impinge on him by noise, attempts to influence him, demands, or interruption of his own activities.

Although insofar as he can Clyde avoids situations in which he will experience anger, he has techniques for dealing with it once it is aroused. I commented that he must feel very angry about having to spend another year in the reformatory when simply being in the reformatory was so intensely distasteful to him. He responded, "You know I was raised a Mennonite. You learn early to hold all your feelings down, suppress them." He also makes sure he has one friend available who can speak his anger for him.

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[1] House: Inmate term for home cell.

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> I usually have one friend. (Is he like yourself?) No, I pick him as different from myself as possible. (How do you mean different?) Loud, noisy, apt to be rough. The friend I have now[2] is apt to talk too much. I get angry and he does the talking.

Clyde observes the human scene from the outside, and his observations are quite precise, judgmental, almost fastidiously formulated. For instance, he had mentioned that his mother and stepfather occasionally knocked him around when he had been drinking. I suggested, "It was bad at home?" He responded coldly: "Not too much, I suppose. I expect if you found a twelve-year-old son in your home getting drunk you would try to do something about it." When he was telling about his grandparents, he asked if I knew about the Mennonites. I wondered if they were the sect wearing a distinctive black uniform. He corrected me with his oddly authoritative and "couldn't care less" precision, saying I must mean the Hutterites. He continued with a dry, almost scientific description of the Mennonites, to whom his grandparents belonged and among whom he was raised until he was eight years old. Even individuals whom Clyde calls "friends" are observed with unrelieved realism: "Loud, noisy, rough." "Apt to talk too much."

Clyde established his pattern of withdrawal early. He was eight when his mother remarried, leaving the grandparents' home for a large city. Soon after, she sent for Clyde and his sister. "Everything was different. So many people, dressed different, faces painted, noisy and rushing around. All I know is I was unhappy." By the time Clyde was ten he was staying away from home for days at a time." (Where?) "Anywhere. At my friend's house. Up in the mountains. We would break in a cabin and stay there a week or two getting food and liquor by stealing." Ever since then Clyde has been on the move. "I have to keep going to a new place. At first the new place seems strange, different, I don't know anybody. Then it becomes just like the old place and I have to move on." Now Clyde's goal for himself is to get away from people entirely. "I guess I'm looking for something like what the Mennonites had. Quiet, nobody bothering about what you do, letting you alone. I don't know where it is but I'll find it as soon as I get off parole."

SELF-IMAGE

Although the self that Clyde presents to others appears at first as a mass of self-protective techniques, a sharply defined self-image emerges from his attempts to avoid revealing himself.

Clyde thinks of himself as "a thief" with no uneasiness, pride, or concern about the social reaction to such a label. Being a thief takes skill: "Out of every hundred jobs I pulled, I got picked up for one and usually I could beat that one." Stealing was the easiest way to finance the wandering life he required, and "moving on" was a natural aspect of a successful thief's life. He also thinks of himself as a German rather than an American. "My father was German and my mother Austrian. When I was in my grandparents' home we spoke a mixture of German and Austrian with a bit of Russian thrown in. When I got to the city where my mother and stepfather lived I couldn't even speak English very well."

Skill, any skill that will maintain his chosen way of life, is a major preoccupation for Clyde and a large component of his self-image. He speaks casually and concretely of the skills of thieving. He is interested in the C Unit Explorer's Club because there he picks up pointers on "survival skills" that will be useful when he finds his wilderness retreat away from people. For the same reason he would like to learn Spanish and Portuguese; he expects to head for South America when he is released from parole. "If you know Latin, you ought to be able to pick up the Western European languages rather easily." He thinks of his assignment to the automotive vocational program as a way of gaining skills, "survival techniques," useful during the dreary period on parole when he will be expected to work. There are even skills in doing time: "So long as you are under these people, you have to go along with their program." Clyde prefers living in C Unit because it provides conditions that support his conscious adjustment to institutional life. "The population is more stable, not so much confusion and moving about. Also every man has his own cell. I like my privacy."

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[2] Referring to Eric, Case Study 9.

Clyde speaks matter-of-factly about two essential accouterments to the state of being himself. One is a gun. "I have always had a gun." He then listed by make and number each gun he has owned. "I never used them on jobs. Usually they were stashed away in my car." The other is an alter ego, the person who talks his anger for him and shares his amorphous wandering life. "You need one person around to talk to." This person is a male. Clyde does not see marriage for himself, except as a hypothetical possibility, neither probable nor desired, perhaps a necessity when he is too old for the wandering life. "Marriage means children, responsibilities, being tied down."

MORAL ORIENTATIONS

As far as I could determine, Clyde has no moral values. He values only that which is instrumental for his own time-ordered goals: achieving release from the institution; earning discharge from parole; and ultimately establishing himself far from civilization. Not even toward his crime partner—who was his "one person" for ten years or more—does he express the kind of concern for another that is essential for moral orientation.

From the time Clyde was ten he and his "friend" did everything together until they were both committed to different institutions two years ago. The two boys ran away to the mountains, stole cars and pulled jobs together and, from the first of this period, they were drunk much of the time. Their earliest stealing was beer and whiskey and "then we realized we might as well make money out of the skills we had developed." By the time the boys were in their early teens they were taking trips across several states. Mostly they operated by stealing cars and then stripping them of their contents and all removable parts. "Tires, radios, luggage, spare parts." The cars were used for transportation from one place to another; the goods were disposed of at service stations, junk yards, or discount houses. They did no breaking and entering. Clyde said: "I don't like to go into other people's houses." On one trip across country to the Middle West, Clyde reports:

> All nondriving time was spent stealing and partying. (Partying?) Women, drinking. Then there would be a fight and we would go on to the next town. During that time I always drank one to three fifths of whiskey a day without feeling the worse for it. I didn't bother to eat; I've never cared about eating. Even in here I never eat lunch, and breakfast only some times. I even skip dinner if I don't feel like going.

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Clyde says he does not get assaultive when drinking. "But often we would be in a bar. My crime partner would start a fight and then I would have to finish it."

Clyde seems to have received minimal attention from the authorities during his long period of criminal activity, and he perhaps has had reason for his belief that successful thieving requires only skill and ability to leave an area after a series of jobs. His one previous exposure to correctional agencies occurred at age fifteen, when he was committed to an institution for juveniles; but after a month in the diagnostic clinic he was released on parole. He immediately left the state. Although he was arrested in the Midwest and held for his home state, the officials discharged him from parole rather than pay for his transportation home.

The last crime, for which he and his crime partner are now committed, was grand theft.

> We used the gun that time. We wouldn't have been caught even then if my partner had done what I said. Gone to the left instead of the right. They picked us up in the general neighborhood fifteen minutes after the job. The police stopped us and found the money. So my partner said "part of the money is ours." He was a fool. Of course they held us for questioning. I figured since he had done the job, I would be only an accomplice, so I confessed. But they had changed the accomplice law since I had been in the state, so I got the same as he did. It's funny That was going to be the last job we pulled here. We only got about $200 but we were heading back to the Midwest. My partner had gotten married there and he wanted to see his wife. A few more jobs and we would have had our pile. Then we were going to South America.

Clyde does not even give loyalty to the code of "honor among thieves." He speaks with contempt of his partner's amateurish mistakes in comparison with his own superior foresight; and ratted when he thought that by doing so he could improve his own chances. He does not expect to pick up his relationship with his partner after release. "It would be too dangerous for me to associate with my crime partner."

Clyde sees no relationship between time spent in the institution and going straight on the streets. He behaves well in the institution because "you have to go along with their program" in order to earn release and to make institutionalization minimally painful. He expects to work on parole because he wants to avoid further institutionalization. He wants no help from the institution except whatever will make doing time least onerous. He claims to have no desire for "the good life" as defined in socially acceptable terms. He is explicit that he will conform in the future to the official values of the community only insofar as violating them might actually jeopardize the achievement of his own goals.

FAMILY ROLE

Clyde was the younger of two children. His parents were in the South when his father left the home, so his mother, who had to work, sent both Clyde and his older sister to her Mennonite parents. "A little town. Women wore long dresses and no makeup. Men let their beards grow. Nothing to do but get up at four, milk some cows, go to school, milk some cows, go to bed." His mother was a Mennonite but "not a practicing one."

When Clyde was eight he moved to the city to live with his mother and stepfather. The stepfather "was all right, I guess. I don't know. I was just unhappy all the time."

At first the mother took the children for visits to the grandparents "but my sister and I used to fight against that" so the visits gradually ceased. He has no memory of affection expressed in any family relationships. "All feelings were suppressed."

By age ten Clyde was staying away from home for days or weeks at a time. There is no further mention of his family except that they "knocked me around when I was drunk."

ROLE WITH PEERS

Peers as such do not appear to bother Clyde so long as they remain faceless and uninvolved. He remembers hanging around with groups in the city when he was a child, but he is firm that "I never pulled a job with them." He finds "one or two of the C Unit interest groups mildly entertaining," but was contemptuous of the "Jews and stupid American propaganda faction" in the World War II Interest Group. He reported that the Explorer's Club will have its membership "held down to fifteen." I asked if that many on the Unit would be interested and Clyde replied, "Oh, yes. But it's just as well if there are less." He can apparently tolerate others around as he pursues his own interests provided they don't get too close or expect anything of him. A necessary condition for tolerating these others is the opportunity to "split"[3] when he feels like it, "go into my house." He doesn't want to have anything to do with "these people" when he gets out. His only suggestions to improve the Unit is "get rid of the record player and the tape recorder. They make too much noise."

The role of the chosen "friend" in Clyde's life is particularly interesting. He reports only two of these "other persons," his partner on the outside and one friend in the institution. Clyde's description of the two gives the impression that he perceives them as less intelligent than he, more amateurish, and that he uses each as a tool, necessary for vicarious or direct acting out of his own states of tension. There is a homosexual quality to his report of these relationships; they seemed symbiotic, without clearly differentiated sexual or ego roles.

ROLE WITH OFFICIALS

Clyde clearly learned from his grandparents how to conform to authority when it is necessary. "When these people are in charge you have to go along with their program" and "you suppress" the feelings they arouse in him. Only one man in the institution, a school official, arouses intense anger in Clyde, "by saying two words. He's so arrogant." In order to avoid him, Clyde is waiting for another man to come back from vacation before he discusses with the school department whether or not he has completed his high school certificate. If he is through with school as he expects to be, Clyde wants to go full time into auto shop because he likes the skill training. He would have liked to be a C Unit project clerk and his counselor tried to get him the job, but somehow it didn't work out..What Clyde would have liked about this job is not the association with staff, but the fact that the position is seen by him as a retreat—"You get away from things. It is more quiet up here." As for the rest of officialdom, Clyde has as little to do with them as he can, either inside or outside. He goes along with the institutional program while he has to but does not perceive officials as people to be related to.

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[3] Split: Leave without explanation or apology.

OPPORTUNITY SYSTEM EXPERIENCES

Clyde was handicapped for the normal opportunity systems of early boyhood by his "foreign" cultural upbringing and his language difficulty. Apparently he has managed to escape most of the socialization experiences normally available through school and employment structures. Neither does he have a military record. And the correctional system did not catch up with him until this final "job." On the other hand, Clyde does not talk as though he had been socialized by an organized criminal opportunity system, although he has some of the characteristic orientations of a professional criminal. He has apparently been intelligent and inventive enough to create his own structure for learning and doing. Within the institution when he has to "accept a program" he can learn and work within an acceptable range. He takes from programs only that which relates to the narrow range of his self-defined interests.

RESPONSE TO STRESS

Clyde experiences stress very intensely whenever he is tied to a prescribed way of life and forced to interrelate with "people." Thus, institutionalization is experienced by him as continuous suffering endured by the mechanism of chronic depression rather than expressed in overt explosions. He handles stress primarily by all means of avoidance, including constriction of his perceptual range.

RESPONSE TO HELP

Clyde categorically denies the possibility of "help" as a relationship between two people. Furthermore, he cannot imagine wanting to achieve the goals for which people seek professional help. Nevertheless he is obviously attached to his counselor, on whom he relies in many ways. Clyde does not speak of his counselor with warmth or appreciation; rather he takes him for granted, much as a child accepts a giving parent, making use of his services as a matter of course.

case study 6

TWO–HOUR INTERVIEW

SAM

SAM is a tall, raw-boned Negro, twenty-two years old. I remember his face as mobile rather than attractive. He took the interview for granted with no questions as to what I wanted and no moment of waiting for explanation. Like a puppy dog wriggling in delight at a sign of friendly interest, he started talking as soon as we sat down and continued at great speed and with much laughter to recount one episode out of his life after another with no discernible logical sequence. These stories were illustrated by much gesturing and use of the environment in communication. For instance, he arranged the ash trays at one point to show the relation of one building to another.

The interview was broken into two parts because my arrival at the institution was delayed. It continued for 45 minutes in the morning and 1 1/4 hours during the group counseling period in the afternoon. When I proposed the group counseling hour as the time for completing the interview, Sam was initially disappointed because "that is the time when I catch up on my sleep." He agreed to come back as a "favor" to me, and the same kind of headlong verbality occurred during the second period. During the second part of the interview, I had to intervene by abruptly interrupting in the middle of sentences in order to get him to speak to certain subject areas. However, Sam did not seem disconcerted by the changes in subject but obligingly started storytelling in response to each new question with no reduction of speed. At the end of the second half of the interview, I gave him ten minutes after the whistle for count[1] had blown in order to let him come to a natural stopping place. Finally I had to interrupt him in the middle of a sentence to draw his attention to the time. He stopped immediately, assured me "I'll sleep through count" and went off grinning as though he had had a good time.

In the first part of the interview, when Sam was describing his episodes of violence and some of his grievances, he seemed to be getting seriously worked up and emotional. I was glad to see that by the end of the second part of the interview he was quieter, psychologically less explosive. At the end he was talking naïvely, sentimentally, but seriously about his goals for stability on parole, his anticipated good relationship with his mother, and his present increased maturity.

PERCEPTION OF SOCIAL WORLD

Sam sees people as interacting out of the impulses of the moment. There is a quality of surprise in his perspective as he tells each story, as though he were saying,

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[1] Count: Procedure for checking total population conducted four times a day. Each inmate is expected to return to his room and stand at attention behind his locked door. Being late at count is a serious offense in the institution.

"Who would have thought that having started so naturally and simply such a wild outcome could have resulted?"

A good example concerns what was apparently only one episode in a series during several days when the police were looking for Sam on a charge of disturbing the peace. (He had shot out some lights at a dance because nobody paid attention to his request for more quiet.) On this evening, Sam attended a dance at a recreation center and later in the evening went out of the hall into the street. On his return "a nice lady, I didn't know then that she was a policewoman," asked for his ticket. When he claimed to have already paid she nevertheless insisted that a second ticket was necessary. While she remained "nice," a man standing near by got unpleasant and demanded that Sam leave the hall unless he bought a ticket and put it in the box. Sam said:

> "What would happen if the box wasn't there? Then I wouldn't have to put no ticket in it, would I?" This dude[2] was nasty, he says "Maybe not. But the box is there so you have to put a ticket into it." So I took that box and threw it outside. Then there was no box to put the ticket in. So I went inside. After the dance I told the lady that it had been a nice dance. She said she was glad but I shouldn't have thrown the box away. I said I was sorry if I had done wrong and would be glad to pay for it in some way. She had a lot of throwaway leaflets on her table —a big pile—so I said "You want those distributed, don't you? I'll take them and give them away for you." So I went out on the corner and started handing them out. [Much gesturing.] All the people were taking them as they went by. I saw this man sitting in the car. See, I didn't know he was a policeman, he had a sort of uniform on, but I thought he was a conductor or something. I knocked on the car window and when he didn't say anything I opened the car door and reached into the front seat to give him a leaflet. Wham! Bang on my jaw. He hit me with his fist and pulled me in, beating me up. He didn't have no call to hit me.

During the telling of this story Sam was reliving the whole episode with gestures. He still experienced the surprise of the blow as very funny and he laughed heartily at this unexpected response to his innocent gesture. Although he reported cues that should have alerted him to be wary, he gave no evidence that, even at this late date, he perceived the situation as one requiring a more complex and self-protective response from him. Sam lives and relives life in terms of playful, impulsive, hostile, and even generous gestures to life, each resulting in a series of reactions that snowball into unexpectedly violent consequences.

Throughout these stories, there is the recurrent theme of violence. His mother beating him with a frying pan; a policeman beating him with a blackjack—"he beat me up a taste"—and breaking a front tooth; four toughs from a gang on the other side of the city jumping him and leaving him beat up; showing his gun at the door to get into a dance when looking for the four toughs, or waving the gun to silence screaming women in a beauty salon when all he wanted was to use the telephone in the back of the store; his mother trying to write a letter to his brother in prison and being interrupted by fighting children; Sam pulling a knife on a policeman who was beating him. Each new experience of violence from others is unanticipated; his own violence is experienced as a natural response as though there had been no alternative. "There was my mother beating me on the chest with the frying pan. I didn't want to hurt her. I just wanted to stop her beating on me." Violence is not perceived from a value stance or deplored. Rather, Sam accepts it as inherent in human interchange although each new outbreak is remembered as hilarious in its unexpectedness and unexpectedly serious in its consequences.

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[2] Dude: Used particularly by Negro inmates and seems to refer to almost any other man, usually a peer or unidentified individual. Someone who is known as an official is often distinguished by using the term "the man."

Sam thus learns life only step by step as he responds impulsively to oversimplified perceptions of "nice" or hostile overtures to him, never by perception of complex situations requiring him to make choices among alternative kinds of behavior. However, out of these accumulated experiences he is beginning to formulate some very simple manipulative rules for protecting himself. He talks wisely about having learned to choose his "pardners" by watching who comes around his door when he has cigarettes or goodies but who also stays away when he is short; and about doing his own time, because when you come right down to it, "most dudes aren't going to care about you."

> Like if I and this guy were up on a tall bridge and he was down-hearted about life—maybe his girl stood him up. If he wanted me to jump into the river with him just because he wanted to jump in, I ain't going to do it. After all, it's my life, I ain't going to jump in just because he wants to. That's what I say to dudes who want me to be pardners in pulling a job. "You ain't no pardner or you wouldn't be asking me to pull no robbery."

For Sam the world is divided quite primitively between those who can be depended on and those who are exploitative, and Sam is learning by hard experience that his initial naïve responsiveness to overt friendliness is not a sufficiently accurate test for predicting the behavior of others. He is now trying to utilize a pseudosophisticated but still very rough rule of thumb according to which he takes the stance of expecting everyone to be exploitative until proved different. My hunch is that in action he still responds more naïvely than he thinks he does.

SELF-IMAGE

Sam sees himself as very young, essentially kindhearted, and as one who is always being let down, outmaneuvered, or passed over by others.

Sam hangs on to his feeling of being young as though fearful of the process of maturing. When I asked exactly how old he was he responded with a superstitiously defensive shake of his head.

> I don't pay no attention to birthdays since I came inside. When I get out, I want it to be the same as though I had never come in. I don't like to think about those years—four years lost out of my life.

Later he was describing his devotion to sports, his continual physical training of himself for football, basketball, running the mile, etc. He burst out: "Some of these dudes in here act like they old men already, sitting in their house,[3] book in front of their noses all the time. I don't want to get like them, old before my time." He rejected the idea of marriage as though that sort of social adjustment would necessarily belong to a much later period in his life.

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[3] House: Inmate term for home cell.

His picture of himself as essentially kindhearted but ignored or victimized by others is consistent throughout his life. He tried to help his mother, who lived on welfare with eleven children to care for.

> I took a paper route so I could give her money. I tried to help her. But she blamed me for the things my next younger brother was doing. Stealing money out of her purse. I never stole from her but she beat me for it. She said he was too young to be so bad. Righteously I think my mother made it so I come to prison I just decided if she was going to blame me for those wrong things I might as well do them.

In a boys' correctional camp where he was placed as a teen-ager, he was the one who put in the fire alarm when the recreation hall burned down.

> I have weak kidneys and I got up to go to the bathroom. I was snapping my fingers at the man[4] at the end of the hall but he didn't say anything. He had this book up to his face but I guess he was asleep. Then I looked out the window and I thought it was day—the whole hillside was red. It couldn't be day time—all those guys still sleeping. I saw the Rec hall was burning on the other side—creeping up to this here butane tank. I ran to set off the fire alarm and to call the superintendent. Then I come back and took a fire extinguisher to the tank. [Much detail about squirting the fire hose on the juke box rather than on the new barber chair which the superintendent wanted to save.] When the newspaper came out it had all this in it about how the night watchman saved all the boys in the dormitory.

I asked if no credit had been given to Sam. "I didn't tell that the watchman was asleep. He was an old man and might have lost his job. I just told the superintendent he was waking the boys up while I ran to ring the alarm."

On the basis of his last two years in the reformatory as "leadman" in the factory, Sam thinks of himself as a good workman. His devotion to sports and self-discipline in developing and maintaining skill in all kinds of sports also contribute to his image of himself as an active achiever. One gets a feeling that in a very general way he is developing a broadly sketched self-image containing primitive elements of stability, responsibility, self-discipline in the interests of achievement, and kindness to others. However, this image of himself has been developed under institutional conditions. His self-perception is defective in that he does not recognize either his reliance on the strong external control that makes any kind of stable performance possible or his actual impulsivity, immaturity, and seducibility.

MORAL ORIENTATIONS

All of Sam's delinquent and criminal behavior, insofar as he acknowledges it, seems to have been motivated by uncontrollable impulsivity. Even his stealing has not been planned. I asked about robbery. "Me—no! No robbery for me. I don't go out to take nothing from nobody like that. I just take something if it is lying around." I asked him how he figured the difference. It seems that planned use of aggression in order to get money bothered him in some way, but he feels perfectly free to "just want something and take it." By this he means:

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[4] The man: Always an official authority person; in the institution, usually a custody officer.

> Cars—take a car and drive it, I need to get somewhere, don't have no way to get there, take a car. Or like hot dogs, see, I am going down the street and there is a hot dog stand there. I order two hot dogs. Then I say to the man, "Oh yes, I'd like one of those drinks down there" and he has to go way back behind the bar to get it. So I just pick up the hot dogs and go down the street eating. See, I don't have no money. I's hungry, so I take them.

What Sam does report is a love for guns and the use of guns in ways that are dangerous. He believes he would not have been in so much trouble if he had lived in the country where he could hunt. Instead he has had to "shoot at cans" and, in his earliest difficulty, shot a neighborhood boy in the leg. He speaks of shooting as a common activity in his family. An older brother pointed a supposedly empty gun at him and pulled the trigger so that it "clicked." Sam told him not to point even an empty gun at him, so his brother pointed the gun at the ceiling and fired again. This time the gun went off, dropping plaster onto an uncle who was sleeping on the couch in the next room (again a very "funny" episode).

The "disturbing the peace" charge, for which Sam was sought by the police, involved shooting a gun at the lights in the dance hall in order to get attention to his request for more quiet. This episode was linked in association, if not in time, with a noisy trip with a "pardner" who was urging Sam to help him with a robbery. Sam was refusing. They came to a beauty salon where the pardner wanted to stage a holdup. When the two came to the door and started to open it, a woman customer screamed and the owner held the door against entry.

> All the women was running and screaming trying to hide. I pulled the gun out of my shirt and waved it, telling the lady I wasn't going to commit no robbery, I just wanted to use the phone back there. She opened the door for me but I wouldn't let the other dude in. I went in—it was funny, all the yelling. A little girl was out in the middle of the floor and her mother was yelling for her to get out of my way. I waved the gun at them to make them quiet down. I said I just wanted to make my call. So I went to the telephone at the back of the shop and made my call and left.

This kind of behavior, although it utilizes the means for violence, cannot be characterized as aggressively hostile. Rather it is the erratic, irrational, attention-getting behavior of a childish person who has dangerous tools in his hands, is extremely suggestible, and has few mechanisms for controlling his own behavior once such a sequence has been initiated.

Sam's report of the present offense is of this order. An unorganized group of tipsy Negro boys leaving a dance decide to crash a streetcar ride with no intention of paying fares. There is noise, hostility from the conductor, mutual threats. The boys get off, leaving Sam to the last. The others are running and Sam is picked up by the police. A robbery has occurred in the neighborhood and the police are on the prowl for a similar group of boys. Sam is told he is arrested for robbery and when he protests it wasn't him but those boys disappearing over the hill, the policeman hits him.

> All this—the times I had been beat before—kind of went off in my head, and I pulled the knife on him. I didn't plan to cut him. I wish he had searched me be-

> fore he hit me. I sure wish he had searched me. Then I wouldn't be in here on this serious beef.[5]

Minus his dangerous weapons Sam's explosive behavior could be much less dangerous to himself and to others. With them, under certain kinds of impulse stimulation, he is capable of the most serious violence.

Drinking plays a part in Sam's explosive behavior, but not drugs. Women do not appear in his stories and all his talk is curiously asexual.

FAMILY ROLE

Sam reports a Negro family with eleven children in which he had three older brothers and a younger brother with whom he competed for his mother's affection. Other children are not mentioned except as he reports a home life that was noisy and disorganized with physical aggression used by everyone as the common mode of interaction. The father was out of the home most of the time, returning on occasion when he was drunk. At some point when his father was living permanently out of the home, Sam moved in with him for a while. However, much of his life since his early teens has been spent in institutions, with a first commitment to a county boys' camp and two youth institutionalizations before he was sentenced to prison on the present offense. He was transferred to this reformatory as part of the work crew[6] four years ago.

Until about age eleven or twelve Sam thinks of himself in the family as the only one who tried to help his mother, by getting a paper route, fetching the groceries, and so forth, while he kept being blamed for the delinquencies of his next younger brother, whom the mother preferred and protected. This brother stole from his mother and ran around with a delinquent group long before Sam decided "what was the use of trying." In the first part of the interview, Sam showed great resentment and bitterness toward this brother and his mother. It was in the second half of the interview that he talked about his mother as doing "the best she could for all of us."

> One thing, we always ate good. I used to take the Welfare check to the grocery for her to pay for the last month's food and it was always most of it gone just for food. I would look at the big numbers and think "what a lot of money" and then all I would get back would be a couple of tens. My mother had a hard time. We weren't good sons to her, with three of us inside. That's what bothered me most getting denied. My father died while I was in prison and I keep worrying my mother will die before I get out. I don't want to get out just to go to her funeral without having had a chance to help her, do something for her after all she did for me, make up to her for the hard time she has had.

On parole he wants to live away from home and make some money before he goes to see his mother.

> When I go to see her I want to have some money in my pocket, buy her a gift, do something for her to make up for being a bad son to her. After all, she had a hard time and she did a lot of things for me.

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[5] Beef: Commitment charge.

[6] Work crew: Inmates assigned to an institution to fill jobs essential to maintenance and production.

Sam reports he still gets a sense of rejection from his mother.

> I got all excited because she said she would come visit me. I kept waiting and waiting for that visit and then she never did come. She shouldn'ta told me she was coming and then not come because then I wouldn't have been worrying so waiting for a visit.

His mother doesn't write to him but wants letters from him. He rationalizes her lack of interest by remembering how, when his older brother was in a correctional institution, she would try to write a letter and be continually interrupted by younger children fighting or by food boiling over on the stove. However, he has stopped writing to her himself.

In his dismissal of the idea of marriage as a much later step in his life and in his nostalgia for a mother-son relationship that has never been achieved in reality Sam gives the impression of a "small boy" yearning for a never-experienced role as a child in a parental family. His picture of good family relationships seems limited to "buying something for my mother" and the provision of good food by his mother. Neither in his experience nor in his perception of life does he have any model for the behavior required to establish a stable new family of his own.

ROLE WITH PEERS

The episode best illustrating Sam's peer group role was reported as follows:

> I can drive but I never had a license. The man my mother said was going to come give me lessons never did come. When I go out with other guys they won't let me drive—they say I just start going, take over the whole road. They get out if I drive. But once I had a car when I was working, a sawed-off Merc. See, this time I took the guys out to the Park for a watermelon feast. We drove way down to a place that said "Don't leave any refuse"—but there were no garbage cans sitting around. Later I went off for awhile and when I come back there were no rinds sitting around and I says to myself—well, they got it all cleaned up. About three days later I drive into this service station for gas and the man says to me, "Well, I see you had a nice watermelon feast." I thinks, "Well, how does he know that?" He says, "Yes, you sure had a fine watermelon feast," so I gets out to see how he knows. There are all them rinds in the trunk of the car, everything all smelling of watermelon. I sure had to work, hosing the trunk out to get my car fixed up nice and clean."

This story was told as though it were riotously funny with no apparent evidence that Sam recognized the kind of relationship with peers that he experienced.

In the reformatory Sam tends to give out cigarettes and goodies whenever he has more than enough for himself. (He has money because of a work crew assignment.) He has learned to watch for those who are "pardners" so long as he has an ample supply but who "shine him on"[7] when he is hoarding or who have nothing to share with him when he is low. The person he thinks of as his best friend is still back in the prison where Sam was originally committed.

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[7] To shine on: To ignore, isolate.

> He really showed me the ropes there, I was thankful for that. I noticed there was all these guys coming to my door and I would give them cigarettes and cookies. Then I was down to two packs and the next dude that come I said I was low and didn't have none to spare. The guy says, "What's the matter, I thought we was pardners." I said we was, but I had just enough to get by until canteen. He went off and the guys all stopped coming except this one. This guy says, "Need a smoke? Here, take a couple for later." I says, "Thanks, I got plenty." He says, "I got some cookies from home. Want some? I got plenty." I didn't take none, but that evening the other guys said, "Come play some dominoes" and I said, "I'm not playing that game tonight. I believe I'll play a little checkers with that dude over there." We went on—when he was low I would offer him cigarettes and cookies or something, but he never took none. I gave him my extra things that I had saved when I left for the reformatory.

This story was told gravely as though it exemplified the height of courteous interchange in the prison situation. It is interesting that Sam remembers having what he considers "serious conversations" with this friend as differentiated from the trips[8] about planning robberies on the outside which characterize the conversation of the "false pardners."

Now in C Unit, Sam maintains his old sports friendships outside of the Unit and therefore is not on the C Unit teams. I had the impression that as a skilled and devoted sportsman he may be more welcome and respected by certain peer groups in the institution than he may have been on the outside.

ROLE WITH OFFICIALS

Sam's ability to get in the hair of officials in the institution is well illustrated by the episode of his latest disciplinary write-ups.[9]

> See, I left work at 10 A.M. for a ducat[10] but I forgot to take my ID card. When I get back this work supervisor says he's going to give me a write-up because I left work at nine instead of ten. I calls over the Sergeant who said he had seen me leave at ten, but the supervisor said he had already given me the write-ups and was going to give me another for disobeying orders and disrespect. See, he was mad because I got an officer to say he was wrong. He wouldn't say he was wrong so he give me this second write-up. A dude say to me, "Why you mess up things and get yourself two write-ups instead of just one?" I say, "I'd rather get two write-up and get things looked into. I'm as bad off with one write-up as two." See, I talked to the coach Lieutenant, he knows me from sports, and he looked into it and got them both dismissed. I was surprised he did this, but he knows me real well.

Not all Sam's explosive reactions to the official system have come out this well. Usually his inability to understand official logic, his explosive, direct action response, and his open hostility have brought down concerted hostile reactions from officialdom. As a consequence, Sam has had many disciplinary reports in his four years. It is only as he has become known in high places through his devotion to sports, in which he has quite evidently been a "useful" inmate from the staff point of view, that he has gained official protectors. It is interesting that although Sam pictures himself as a respected workman because he is "leadman" in the factory he still evokes from his work supervisor the severe reaction of a write-up for what seems to have been a minor infraction.

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[8] Tripping: An inmate term for rambling conversation about life on the outside, in which each recounts either real stories or fantasies about "good times," feats of daring, "jobs I've pulled," women, etc.

[9] Write-up: A written report of behavior requiring disciplinary action.

[10] Ducat: Written pass to some official program assignment or interview.

Outside institutional life, Sam remembers liking one place where he worked for three months—a wholesale clothing manufacturer's—where the bosses were pleasant. "They was sure nice to me there." His job consisted of delivering dresses to retailers. When he would go into a fancy shop he enjoyed seeing the elaborate decor and "all the pretty girls."

> There was one lady I sure didn't like. She would take the dresses and close the door—never let me come in and see the girls. She would sign the bill like this [gesturing] and then open the door just a little to hand it out. I sure hated to go there.

He also remembers a teacher whom he liked, apparently in the seventh or eighth grade. "She was sure a nice lady. I sure worked for her. I didn't get very good grades but she acted like she liked the whole class. That is the kind of teacher I work for."

Apparently it is not authority as such that Sam resists; rather he welcomes friendly, protective authority figures. However, when authority makes requirements about behavior that don't fit within his childlike perception of the way things should go or when it is applied in a hostile, arbitrary manner, it triggers off his aggressive reaction. With officials as with all people, Sam differentiates only between those who are "nice" and those who make demands on his social perception and self-control that he is not able to meet.

OPPORTUNITY SYSTEM EXPERIENCES

Sam started life at the bottom cultural rung in a disorganized delinquent Negro family living in a metropolitan high-delinquency area. There is no evidence that he found a foothold of any permanence in any opportunity system either legitimate or illegitimate. We hear little about school except that he attended until the period when he got disgusted with his mother's blaming him and began to be as bad as she said he was. His work experience has been very limited and he has learned employment skills only in institutions. Socially he seems minimally fitted for performing according to acceptable behavior patterns in any of society's legitimate opportunity systems. In addition, it is important to note that he has neither perceived nor had access to organized criminality.

RESPONSE TO STRESS

For Sam stress is automatically produced by hostile or rejecting behavior from others, or by demands on him for behavior that runs counter to his own oversimplified and distorted definition of the situation. His response to stress is hostile muscular and verbal aggression. He seems to have few self-protective mechanisms or alternative methods for dealing with stress.

RESPONSE TO HELP

Sam perceives help only in terms of kindness together with doing things for him. The means commonly used by the profession in helping, particularly the manipulating of ideas through words, make little sense in his perception of the world. For him verbality, even when friendly in nature, is another form of muscular discharge of chronic tension, satisfying the need for gregariousness. Only in the instance of his prison friend does he evidence ability to use a role model for social learning, and he seems undiscriminating in his choice of verbal partners. Help for Sam could probably be provided only through a long-time relationship based on doing things for and with him within a stable, protective environment in which stress-producing stimuli could be reduced to the minimum while basic patterns for self-control were taught patiently incident by incident.

case study 7

TWO-HOUR INTERVIEW

WHEELER

WHEELER is a thirty-eight-year-old man who carries himself trimly and makes a point of courtesy toward staff. He came to the interview with me obviously under tension, not all of it accounted for by the fact that he is soon to go out on parole.

His first comment was that he had wanted to talk with me ever since he has been in C Unit, but had not asked for an interview because another inmate told him how busy I was.

> **I decided there are lots of other guys who need help more than I do. But I came to the institution in order to find out what is wrong with me. Here I am about to be released and I haven't got the answer yet. What I wanted to ask you is, "Do I have an alcoholic problem?" The psychologist at the clinic said no and my counselor told me he didn't think so. I was sure you could tell me.**

Throughout most of the interview, Wheeler talked under high pressure. At first his manner was vivacious and forceful, but toward the end of the interview, when I tentatively tested his capacity for understanding the story he had been telling me, he lost his adolescent self-confidence and became somewhat drawn, serious, and unsure of himself. By the end of the interview he was looking his age. An hour later when he spoke to me in the corridor he was again radiant and bouncing, having just been told he was to be released as soon as his parole plans have been approved.

PERCEPTION OF SOCIAL WORLD

Wheeler appears to equate social relations with exercise of power, competition, manipulation, and ruthless striving for goals. He assumes that everyone seeks the same goals: money, position, ability to command and to spend ostentatiously. For him, people differ from each other primarily in their skill in striving and in the success they achieve.

Wheeler's verbal formulations tend to cover up the bleak commercialism of his actual world view. He speaks much of "wonderful people"—"I have a wonderful family"; "I have wonderful friends";—as though all these others are somehow devoted to him rather than to their own achieving. However, as he talks about what people do, one notices that the details always deal with competition, manipulation, and striving.

> **About his wife: "We were very competitive. We both had 4-H Clubs and gave everything we had to them to see whose club would be best."**
>
> **About his first boss: "I worshipped that man. I guess you would say he was my ideal. You would have to know him to understand how wonderful he was. He**

ran everything, all his business, with an iron hand. He knew everything that was going on and was in absolute control. When I wanted him to set up another office and let me run it, he told me no, I wasn't ready to go out on my own yet. He told me I still needed a few years yet with him as my boss." [Wheeler was thirty-three years old at the time.]

About his children: "I have wonderful children. Everyone of them did fine in school. And they were tops in the 4-H Clubs."

About his fellow inmates: "I organized this group of inmates to discuss agricultural work. I've been teaching them the tricks of the trade, the things you have to know. At the same time I've been telling them how to get along in the institution. It's so easy if you only put a little thought into it. I tell them 'Get into group counseling. Do everything they want you to do. It won't hurt you and it will look good to the Board.[1] Get with it. You don't have to make trouble for yourself if you just work at making a good impression.' Was I wrong in telling them that? It's the way everybody has to do to get ahead."

About C Unit: "I've taken up all the activities. That's the way to earn short time. But even if I had had to stay here for twenty years I would have picked out the best job in the institution and earned my way up to it. A man has to have a goal up ahead to work for. In fact, I've been disappointed in the Department of Corrections. I had expected this would be a tough place. You would really have to prove yourself. It has just been too easy to get to the top in here."

Wheeler reported only one relationship in other than manipulative terms. After his divorce he made friends with a sixty-year-old Italian widow who manages a small restaurant owned by her husband when he was alive. Wheeler formed a habit of dropping in frequently for dinner and sitting with her over coffee and brandy for a couple of hours two or three evenings a week. "She is a wonderful woman. Just to talk to her was wonderful. I feel worst about what I did because she trusted me and I hurt her. She kept asking me if something was wrong those last few months, but of course I kept telling her no, everything is fine."

When Wheeler spoke of this friend and of his former boss there was an oddly childlike quality in his perspective. It was as though he expected them to be omniscient about him while he had no ability to understand how he might look to them. For instance, I asked him what the older woman friend had observed that made her fear something was going wrong in his life. At first he had no idea. Only much later in the interview did he remember that he had for some months been bringing his fiancée in for dinner from time to time, but that during the last period when things were going wrong he had had a different woman with him each night.

SELF-IMAGE

Wheeler perceives himself as a "chosen one" who is repeatedly selected for special favor by some benign, almost magical power beyond the reach of his understanding. He went to work for his first boss on a large ranch when he was seventeen and, after he had completed junior college, his employer chose him to learn the whole business. Ultimately Wheeler became manager of the ranch, supplanting his employer's own son.

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[1] Board: Parole Board.

> I guess he was disappointed in his son. He wasn't practical, wishy-washy, didn't have the knack for the business. So my boss kind of picked me to take his place.
>
> I don't believe in a God, in a religious sense. But there is something. During the war I was on five submarines and each of them was torpedoed the first trip out after I had been transferred to another ship. You have to explain that in some way.
>
> After my first boss died I took on a job with an equipment company as a beginning salesman. In five months I'm managing a new branch and our office is making the most money of any in the whole business. My new boss—he's a wonderful man—simply turned the whole district over to me. Whatever I do it seems that I can't lose.
>
> I come to the Department of Corrections expecting to do two years. What happens? I get picked as the first man for a special institutional program. And then after seven months I'm released as the first man on a special parole program.

Wheeler insists that he did not know until he was nearly thirty that his parents had adopted him at the age of six months. But all his stories reveal the uneasy intoxication of being selected for special treatment by some inscrutable outside power. It is as though his self depends for its existence on the unpredictable behavior of a succession of power figures.

Within this framework Wheeler maintains his sense of self by the process of acting. He feels himself only when he is competing, manipulating, roistering. He is frightened by this dependence of his sense of being on the activities of goal striving. "I worry—what will it be when I get to the top. What will be left?" It is as though he equates an achieved goal with loss of self.

MORAL ORIENTATIONS

Wheeler's values are essentially instrumental. What works in achieving success is good. The rules of each game are determined by the outside authority that governs that particular situation. Manipulating the rules for one's own advantage and finding out what one can get away with are natural processes never evaluated by Wheeler from the perspective of moral principles.

This kind of orientation insured success for Wheeler until he was thirty-five. He lived and worked under a man whom he "worshipped" and who maintained "absolute control." With adolescent enthusiasm, Wheeler described in detail the ruthless business operations of this empire builder by whom he was trained. "You should have seen the way he drove that other ranch out of business. Of course then he bought it and turned it into a paying proposition. After a few of these deals we controlled the market." Over the years Wheeler "learned the ropes," accompanying his employer on periodic junkets to rodeos and stock shows where hard drinking, women, and general roistering set the stage for the relentless power struggle of business. When his employer died, the son took over the ranch, and Wheeler refused to work for him. "I could see the whole business slowing down. I couldn't stand to stay on the place when the old man was gone." He moved his family from the "nice house on the ranch" and took up sales work in an equipment company. Within the year he was divorced from his wife, and open disintegration in his social adjustment appeared.

As a beginning salesman Wheeler set out to be the best.

> I had lots of friends in the area so I used every lead I had to get customers. I guess I didn't pay much attention to other salesmen's contacts. I'd hear about a deal in the making and walk in and take it over. So I made more money than all the rest of the sales force combined. Of course this is what the owner noticed, he's naturally in business to make money, so almost immediately I was made manager of a new branch. My boss didn't keep any check on what was happening. After all he was making money.

As Wheeler moved about the district, he was continuously "on the town" entertaining customers, rather than saving his binges for cattlemen's conferences. He now lacked a boss who supervised his business with "an iron hand," as well as a work and family schedule determined by 4-H club meetings and the demands of ranch work.

Almost immediately Wheeler began to take funds from the firm for his own use. He seems completely puzzled about why he took the money. "I made more each month than I could possibly use. And I didn't use the extra money for anything I wanted, just more running around, women, night clubs." He talks of this period like a person trying to remember what happened during an alcoholic daze. All he remembers is that "whatever I did turned to gold."

The official record says that Wheeler's embezzlement activities were quickly detected. According to the probation report, Wheeler was arrested for a series of bad checks and on the same day his employer appeared to report an embezzlement of company money amounting to $2300. In Wheeler's story of what happened, he took the initiative in seeking punishment.

> They tell me the way I embezzled no one could ever have found out, it was so smart. But it was the simplest thing in the world to do. Then one day I said to myself, "Something is wrong. I have to stop this and get myself straight." I called my employer in another city and said, "I'm in trouble. Bad trouble. Get down here right away and I'll have the District Attorney here." He was in my office that same afternoon. I laid it out to him and it threw him. He couldn't believe it at first. He offered to let me make it up but I told him I've got to take my punishment and find out what has gone wrong with me. My father came over and he couldn't believe it either. He offered to put up the missing money for me. He wanted to get me the best attorney. I said: "Dad, I did this on my own and I've got to live this through by myself. I'm going to jail and I'll have a public defender." I wouldn't even let him put up bail for me.

I commented that Wheeler certainly had taken the most dramatic way of getting himself stopped. "Why didn't you stop yourself, return the money, and straighten out the records?" It took Wheeler a minute to think about this, but he could only respond in a puzzled way that it had not occurred to him. "I thought if I came here, I would really know I had done wrong. I had to face this one through by myself."

Wheeler has been reaccepted for employment by the same company as he goes out on parole.

> I'll be at the bottom of course, I don't know just what, construction work of some sort I expect. But I will work hard and my employer—he's been wonderful to me, everybody has been wonderful about this—he says when I prove myself I can start up the ladder again. I'll have to earn his trust again, but I don't think that will be hard to do. I'm glad for the parole rules, they'll help to keep me straight. And I know the company will be watching everything I do. I know I won't be able to get away with anything.

Wheeler is uncertain about what will happen when this watchful supervision is relaxed and he begins to move into positions of responsibility. He is completely at a loss to know what to expect of himself when he reaches the top once more.

I commented that Wheeler's problem seems to be not so much one of alcoholic intoxication as the intoxication of power when he reaches a goal. With evident anxiety Wheeler asked if I meant that he should give up having any goals for upward mobility. Soberly he said:

> I'll take a job without any future and stick to it day in and day out if that is what I have to do to stay out of this kind of trouble again. But I can't imagine what a man can do with that kind of life. You have to have something to work for, that's true of every man isn't it?

I probed to see if he could think of filling his life with other kinds of richness—such as stability and personal relationships—but he seemed unable to imagine the content of this sort of existence. He did say he expects to give up participating in rodeos because now he is "too old" and they would tempt him to return to the old unstable life.

FAMILY ROLE

Wheeler was adopted by an older couple after their own children had grown and so was raised essentially as an only child. He did not learn of his adoption until after the mother died when he was twenty-nine, and the division of the estate was contested by the older children. He thinks of his early life as without trouble although "I expect I was rather headstrong and somewhat pampered. My parents gave me anything I wanted." He perceives his family as of high prestige in the small town where he grew up. His father was a doctor and they were economically comfortable. When he was seventeen, Wheeler began working as a cowboy for the ranch owner who became his boss after he got out of junior college. In this relationship he saw himself as supplanting the owner's son in being trained to manage the business. Wheeler expresses much deeper ties to this "second father" than to his own. When he talks of his adopted father one gets a blurred picture of an old, kind, prestigious, giving person while the picture of his "boss" is vivid and emphasizes elements of dominance, empire-building, and ruthlessness.

Wheeler reports his marriage as completely successful as long as the family remained at the ranch. Family life for both parents and children was apparently absorbed in activities appropriate for Wheeler's job, such as 4-H Clubs and preparation for county fairs. Wheeler saved his drinking and womanizing for periodic sprees at cattlemen's conferences. He can think of nothing in the marriage that would have presaged the separation between himself and his wife until after he got "out on the town" as a salesman. He insists the divorce was friendly. His wife took over the management of a nightclub, in another city, that they had purchased as income property some time before the separation and the children went with her. He continued to visit the family periodically until his incarceration.

Wheeler reported a rootless life following the divorce, except for the renewal of his relationship with a woman whom he had known since school days and whom he now thinks he should have married in the first place. He speaks of her as his fiancée but there is considerable uneasiness in this commitment.

> She wants to get married as soon as I get out on parole. But I didn't treat her right during the last few months before I got into trouble. I was cheating on her and she knows it. I think she is kind of worried I will do the same thing again, and I can't blame her. Sometimes I think I shouldn't get married until I have proved myself, gotten established to where I can support her properly. But in a way I owe it to her after all she had been through. And maybe being married would make me more serious, help me stay in line.

But Wheeler speaks of his old Italian woman friend with more vividness and feeling than he does of his fiancée.

ROLE WITH PEERS

Relations with peers are all reported by Wheeler in terms of competition, whether it is his older sister who contested the bequest to him in the mother's will, his first employer's son, his fellow salesmen, or the inmates who share his lot in the institution. He expresses a thinly veiled contempt for these others who seem to him less adequate; and he is sure he can outdrink, outride, outsell, and outmanipulate all comers. This is particularly marked in his talk about fellow inmates, whom he sees as inexplicably stupid in not learning, as he has, how to manipulate the simple structure of the correctional system.

ROLE WITH OFFICIALS

Wheeler is much more aware of and oriented toward authorities who can reward his goal striving than he is toward peers who seem to him to be essentially inferior. He looks for the authority who has top prestige, is smarter than himself, and who is ready to assume an absolute superiority. When such a person accepts Wheeler as a favored subordinate, Wheeler's own self-image is enhanced and he becomes more inwardly secure because the outside controls are strong. A lax or less presumptuous authority, such as his second boss or a counselor in the institution, is seen as manipulatable and inadequate. His insistence that he be incarcerated following his embezzlement, when probation was clearly the more appropriate penalty, reveals his blind drive to find the ultimate, most punishing authority and to force it to take responsibility for him. His shock at discovering that it was easy for him to compete within a population of felons for special treatment from that authority has the naïvete of a fantasy.

OPPORTUNITY SYSTEM EXPERIENCES

Wheeler started life with a full complement of social resources: family, social standing, economic comfort, and education. However, from age seventeen on he was socialized in a particular segment of the business community that rewarded sharp practices and provided for regular periods of unbridled acting out. While he remained in this opportunity system under the guidance of a powerful figure he seemed able to manage an outwardly conforming life. When left to himself, he tried to transfer the culture of the ranching barons into another business system without adjustment to the different expectations appropriate for his new position.

Throughout his life still other systems, such as the military service and the Department of Corrections, have rewarded Wheeler in an almost magical fashion. As a result he tends to think of all systems as manipulatable, although he hunts for one that will really challenge him. He seems to feel most secure when he is at the bottom of a system, so handicapped that it will take him a long while to exhaust its possibilities for upward movement.

RESPONSE TO STRESS

Stress is immediately generated for Wheeler when outside controls are lax and responsibility is placed on him for his own behavior. Under such circumstances he becomes intoxicated with the process of manipulation and fills his time meaninglessly with undirected sprees involving conspicuous expenditure, drinking, gambling, and women.

RESPONSE TO HELP

Wheeler perceives help as coming only from someone to whom he attributes prestige, great wisdom and experience superior to his own, and inability to be manipulated. As evidenced in his first question to me, "Do I have an alcoholic problem?", he expects the helping authority to provide "the answer," a formula that he can accept uncritically and apply automatically. He has almost no perception of human beings as helping each other in the normal course of daily interchange; and he lacks awareness of the responsibility he must assume in the receiving of help.

case study 8

ONE–HOUR INTERVIEW

OWEN

THE MOOD of this interview was muted and vaguely sad. Although Owen is twenty-one years old he appeared more like a seventeen-year-old whose slight frame had not yet achieved the contours of adult growth. He answered questions thoughtfully and was willing to participate. However, the opportunity to talk about himself did not stimulate him. It was as though he is not accustomed to seem important either to anyone else or to himself and therefore has little to say on the subject. As a result the data is sparse, communicating primarily Owen's desire to do right coupled with his limited expectation from life no matter what he does.

PERCEPTION OF SOCIAL WORLD

Owen perceives the world flatly. He reports the facts realistically, but without overtones of emotional engagement or expectation. He evidenced one consistent bias in perception: he himself is second-rate and inadequate in a world that is geared to others, who because of their better qualifications inevitably depreciate him.

> My brother went to the same school four years ahead of me. He was outstanding in everything. Got A's. Active in sports. President of his Junior class. I guess everybody at the school expected me to be like him, but I was never very good at school. I guess they got discouraged. By high school I had lost interest. I quit school when I got married. (How old were you?) I was only seventeen and she was sixteen. We had to get married because a baby was coming. We thought we were in love but almost right away we started not getting along. I guess most of it was my fault. I couldn't seem to find steady work. We were worried about bills and began to quarrel. Anyway she left me after about a year.
>
> I expect I will live with my parents when I get out on parole. But I won't stay if it is like before. (What made it bad?) Well, the things my mother says in front of my friends. They are nice guys and shouldn't be treated like that. I can understand she's disappointed in me. But she shouldn't tell them they had better go home and not associate with me because I'm a "dope addict." I did do wrong in taking drugs, but I never was really addicted.
>
> I don't know exactly what work I can get. I'm not qualified for much but some kind of labor. I would like to be a seaman, go round the world before I settle down, but my folks don't approve of that. I guess it's not much of a job but I think it would be interesting for awhile.

SELF-IMAGE

Owen's image of himself seems to be an almost complete incorporation of his family's evaluation of him. He is the dull normal second son of a banker's family who has always been less successful than his four-year-older brother. Almost always Owen's expressions about himself are comparative, measuring himself unfavorably against his brother's accomplishments or his family's accepted standards.

> My brother is doing very well now. He's gone into the bank with my father. I guess my father is pretty high up in the bank. Last I heard he was something like Assistant Trust Manager. That's a responsible position I guess. My family wanted me to do the same, and for a long time I guess I took it for granted too, but of course I never got the education.

Even Owen's goals for himself are comparative. He would like sometime to have "a good car like my brother's"; and to "have a nice home and family someday, about like my father's, I guess." Only as Owen thinks of spending time as a seaman does he formulate a way of life for himself. In that plan he reveals a perception of himself as one who is lonely, wandering, and rootless.

MORAL ORIENTATION

Owen fully accepts his family's middle-class code of behavior as "right." In fact he has never wanted to do wrong. Rather he has drifted into illegal behavior when his problems became too complicated for him to handle.

His first difficulty was drugs, and he started using only after his wife left him.

> After she left me, I guess things started to go to pieces for me. I stayed on in the apartment alone. I was working part of the time, but I got pretty lonely. These fellows would drop in for the evening just to talk. They were using drugs so I went along. I never did get addicted. It was just something to do. Then one evening the police picked us all up and there was the stuff in my place. They put me on probation that time. I had to go back to live with my parents as a condition of probation.

The robbery that resulted in his commitment to the reformatory occurred after he missed the ship on which he was employed as a seaman.

> I had been on a couple of trips, short ones, up the coast and back. I signed on for this trip, but when I got to the pier they had already sailed, an hour earlier than they told me to be there. Even so, if I had been twenty minutes earlier I could have gone out on a tug. After that I didn't know what to do. I didn't want to go back to my parents' house. I drifted around. I needed some money to carry me until I could make another crew and this fellow suggested we do a robbery.

Owen doesn't try to justify his misdeeds, and he is earnestly determined to "do right" from now on.

> I've spent a lot of time in my room since I have been here thinking about how I went wrong and what I have to do when I get out. I know one thing, I have

> to work. I won't get involved in stealing again. And I have to stay away from the crowd that uses drugs. I figure if I follow the rules, I can't get into much trouble. It will be easier when I get steady work on a ship that is scheduled for long trips.

FAMILY ROLE

Owen's experience with his family has structured all his expectations of life. There were only two children in his socially successful family and Owen has been the one failure. His mother's nagging apparently began early. "She kept after me a lot. I never got into any real trouble, but sometimes I would stay out of school and my report cards weren't good." He hardly speaks of his father but his image as it is projected by Owen is remote and severe.

When Owen got married, "My parents were disappointed a lot, I guess. They helped us financially at first, but we didn't see much of them." His own marriage was unhappy. "Just bickering at first. We just didn't get along." After his wife left him she had another child by a man to whom she is not married, born before the divorce decree became final. "One thing I am going to do when I get out on parole is to find out where my wife is now. I want to see my daughter again. I also want to make sure I'm not going to be financially responsible for that other man's child." Owen has postponed thoughts of another marriage into the far future. "I would like to travel a lot before I settle down."

ROLE WITH PEERS

Owen frankly calls himself a "follower." He believes he can choose whom he follows:

> I've always had friends as far as I can remember. Most of them haven't been in trouble, although we did have to stay after school sometimes for just little things. The first time I met guys who had really been in trouble was when I began to go to bars after my wife left me. I don't particularly like that crowd. I think I'm able to choose what friends I associate with. When I was on the ship I found there were all kinds of men—like anywhere—good and bad.

In the institution Owen has been a passive participant in groups, attending regularly but having little to say. He does not seem to have been attracted to troublemakers, preferring to spend time in his room, mulling over his problems, when some official program is not available. He said, "I do think I'm going out prejudiced about Negroes, although I didn't feel that way before. But then I never had to live with them before. I don't like people who are noisy and rowdy so I just stay away." He seems to have moved through institutional life with relatively little exposure to the more delinquent elements of the inmate population.

ROLE WITH OFFICIALS

Owen conforms as best he can to official expectations and expects himself to be biddable toward authority.

> I've gotten along all right. I've been in the wood-working shop and my instructor is a fair man. He'll show you what to do when you need help. I haven't seen my counselor much, but whatever I needed he was always ready to listen. I guess I've liked my parole officer best. He seems to understand about my wanting to go to sea and says he'll help me try to get on a ship.

Owen evidences a quiet liking for those authority persons who respond when they are needed but he seems neither dependent on nor demanding toward them. It is possible that he does not evoke much attention from officials, as though his own perception of himself as not important is communicated to and adopted by such persons.

OPPORTUNITY SYSTEM EXPERIENCES

Owen started out life in a relatively rich social and economic opportunity system that also imposed high standards for performance on the individual. Owen has not been able to meet the expectations of this system. As a consequence he has drifted into lower social levels where he has been exposed to delinquent opportunities.

Owen's current goal for himself seems to relate his abilities more realistically to opportunities. He first presented himself in the interview as adequate and knowledgeable when he was discussing his future work plans.

> I expect my parole officer will have to help me get odd jobs until I can ship out. But I expect to get a place on a ship around Christmas time. There's always a chronic shortage of seamen at that time because lots of men aren't willing to leave home for the holidays. But I won't care about that. Once I get a job I can stay on, just the way I did before I missed the last ship.

RESPONSE TO STRESS

Owen experiences stress when faced with unstructured problem situations requiring social adjustments too complicated for his limited abilities. His reaction is to retreat into drift.

RESPONSE TO HELP

Owen is appreciative of persons who are interested in him and offer help. But he does not bring strong expectations to a helping relationship and automatically assumes he will have to rely on himself. He thinks he has gained something from the institutional experience, primarily the shock of having been stopped in his delinquent activities, an opportunity to mull over what has been wrong, "get things straight for myself," and some added work skills. More he does not expect.

case study 9

ONE & ONE HALF-HOUR INTERVIEW

ERIC

THE WHOLE atmosphere of this interview was contrived, almost theatrical. Eric's last comment to me carried this flavor. When I asked whether he had any questions to ask of me, he said, "No. I think my tape for this interview is just about run out. I'm waiting for you to be through." It was as though he had done his stint on a TV show.

I had the impression throughout that Eric (age twenty-one) was putting on an act of "cooperating with staff." When I told him that I did not want clichés but honestly wanted to know his opinions, he answered, "My counselor told me to be honest with you and I think I am being honest." At the same time his manner seemed so chronically wary—"I think I know how to let staff know only what I want them to know about me," evidencing a kind of superior, contemptuous screening of what he says—that the "honest" bits seemed forced. The two manners intermingled in a strange way. As a result I found myself also somewhat artificial as I tried to select appropriate responses: at one time accepting his statements when he seemed actually "honest"; at another showing him that I recognized what he was doing when he, as he said, "put up the front."

One other comment is useful in trying to communicate the impression of strangeness about this interview. Whenever I have seen Eric before this interview, I have thought of him as homely, a slight, sandy-haired, somehow unattractive youth. However, as he talked in this interview his face took on life and I had moments of seeing him as attractive, intelligent, and capable of charm. In response my own manner expressed more warmth facially and verbally than I had thought it possible to feel toward him.

But in spite of these expressions on the part of each interview partner, the communication felt hollow as though smiles were happening between painted faces—expressions reflected rather than responsive. As Eric left the interview with me he went in to his counselor's office, and I had an involuntary sense that I was being "reported on" in some contemptuous manner, as though I had been "cased" and perceived to be stupid or gullible. This in spite of the fact that Eric had given every outward evidence of being cooperative and had even occasionally been spontaneous, volunteering pertinent information as though he were thinking with me about the questions at hand.

PERCEPTION OF SOCIAL WORLD

Eric had said something lofty, a bit as though he were paying out coin required by staff in order to have a good record, "I know you people try to do your job—to help—and I suppose in all this process you learn something deep about an inmate that probably helps him some." I responded that I didn't want to hear what he thought staff wanted to hear. I was really interested in learning how he saw the world. Eric answered flatly, "If you really want to know how I see the world, I don't like people."

Eric perceives people as hypocritical, depraved, weak, and inferior, with himself (and a chosen few) as superior, clever, capable of manipulating and exploiting those others. Chiefly he wants to be free of any entanglements with those others.

> I want them around only when I want them—on my terms or not at all. . . . I don't want anyone telling me what to do. I like to get out in the wilderness by myself. All I know is I tend to find myself up on a mountain top. . . . The only time I have been happy was the six months I spent in Mexico. No one around to mess into my life, no laws to break so I didn't break any. . . .I like to watch people, find their weak spots, needle them. But I don't let them know about me. I case them but they can't case me. . . .I think there is such a thing as a superior race and superior men [with the implication that Eric is one of these]. . . .I don't intend to get married—at least not until I'm too old to do the other things I want to do. Marriage means being tied down and children—that's what it is supposed to be for, isn't it? I can't see bringing children into this world.

Eric's contempt is documented over and over again in stories that dramatize him as unveiling the basic hypocrisy, weakness, and evil of human beings and their institutions while manipulating them to his own ends.

> I was in this Catholic Boys' school. In a way it was fun—except for having to go to church three times a day. I'd never been to church before, but what I saw there—things that were never in the Bible, like priests getting drunk—I'm against all religion since then. Of course, I learned the rigamarole. I even got to be choir boy. That meant I only had to go to church once a day. . . .
>
> I really learned in that first correctional institution, got along good there with the inmates, not so much with staff. The way to do it was be rough and tough, fight, steal, bully the little boys. But the second time around I had it good. I knew the ropes, everything that was going on. Got all the bonarue[1] jobs. My counselor even got them to give me a two-month cut in time. . . .
>
> As far as I'm concerned niggers are all dirty, foul, and loud. Maybe the way they have lived has something to do with it. (I commented that opportunity sometimes bangs the door pretty hard on people who have been forced to live in debased surroundings.) That's what I hate about this country—whitewash. That is all that U.S. history is. I learned all that stuff in school and believed it—land of opportunity, everyone equal. Look at the facts. Freedom rides, segregation. All history is, is making every bad thing the United States has done look as though we were better than all the other nations. . . .
>
> This girl I lived with as my common-law wife. At first she was shy, afraid, I guess she had been given a pretty bad deal back home. The trouble was she learned too quickly, not just from me, from everyone. She was weak, wanted to depend on me. All she wanted was a crutch, I guess. So I got rid of her. . . .
>
> Officer A is kind of down on me. I guess it is really my fault. I keep needling him, hanging around making cracks about little things he doesn't do right, agitating him. . . .

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[1] Bonarue: Inmate term for sophistication in manipulating institutional life for amenities, e.g., special jobs, well-pressed clothes, access to official information.

> I know where things are in this institution. But I have to be careful now because of the jacket[2] I've got hung on me. See, I'm in this clerk job. All that property around me, and I can't touch it. But the other inmates come to me for advice. They know I know where they can get what they want. Besides this job gives me a chance to watch people—be in the know.

There is only one facet of life of which Eric is acutely aware—the fascination of the new, the dangerous, the hidden, the forbidden. His taste is for glitter and he infuses even institutional living with a potentiality for this kind of excitement—needling people to see how they tick, searching out the evil, being in the know, and skirting danger by utilizing the lines to contraband.

> He is fascinated by hidden treasure: "We found four silver ingots hunting around in old mines in Mexico. And skeletons. The mines were full of booby traps but we didn't care."
>
> He has played with many interests—photography, guns, wood-working, models: "The trouble with me is I get bored easily. I get acquainted with a new subject, like it a lot, and then lose interest. I guess because I'm lazy, don't like to work at it. The one thing I do like is explosives. If you know what you're looking for, you can find all the ingredients you need in drug stores, grocery stores, lying around the house. That's my most consistent interest.
>
> "I like being chased by cops, the excitement of pulling a job. I've tried all kinds—checks, burglary, robbery, theft, and having the cops shoot my car off the road."
>
> Eric was first commited to a correctional institution for: "We stole some gin and whiskey and went up to a place for a picnic. We had a campfire and next thing you know hundreds of thousands of dollars of timber went up in smoke."
>
> Even Eric's seduction into homosexual acts at age ten by a forty-five-year-old employer—the one episode he didn't want to talk about—was because: "Well, alcohol—he got me drunk—and I wanted him to. It was in the papers a lot. That's why my parents sent me to the Catholic Boys' Home."

All Eric's conversation is tinged with a lurid quality as though he perceives an opalescent sheen of danger and evil in every presenting situation and must immediately track it down, experience it, and dramatize his own role in it.

> "I've always been like that. There wasn't anything I wouldn't do, even as a little kid, to stir up a crisis. I remember when I was five throwing a wrench at a steam pipe in my mother's dry-cleaning place just to see the live steam blow out. It makes even me shudder to think of some of the things I have done."

SELF-IMAGE

Eric's presenting self-image is that of the omnipotent human being who tricks, agitates, dominates, seduces, and spurns all the much lower creatures around him. However, this image has been challenged by the fact that he has not been able to make a successful career as a thief.

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[2] Jacket: Bad reputation, official or inmate stereotype. In Eric's case he is seen by custody as a dangerous Nazi agitator.

> I chose stealing because I am lazy about work, not just because of the excitement and danger. It was an easier way to make a living. But it turns out I'm not smart enough to get away with it. Although I made some good money at times, put it all together and it couldn't possibly be called a good income for all the years I've spent inside. The price is too high.

Eric resolves this psychological dilemma by maintaining two images of himself, one a fantasy to be realized in the future and the other permitting some adjustment to the undesirable present.

In Eric's fantasy he will fully realize himself only after he is off parole and can create his own world with a chosen few in a mountain wilderness far from the reach of the law. His model for this life is a romanticized version of Hitler and his band of followers at Berchtesgaden. In his fantasy of the future, Eric is "the leader," omnipotent and free from all social constraints.

For the present Eric accepts the fact that, in order to gain his freedom, he must conform to certain demands made by the superior power that now imprisons him. But in the very process of conforming Eric reestablishes his sense of superiority. The stupid authorities have expected that Eric will be changed in the process of meeting the requirements for release. Daily Eric outwits them by offering a token conformance within which his "real self" remains untouched. Thus Eric feeds his sense of omnipotence during this period of servitude by continually defeating the real purposes of his captors.

Playing the role of the wily slave requires that Eric put on the trappings of a way of life that he despises and cannot understand.

> I don't know anything I want to do that would be square enough. If I took up photography I would probably go in for pornography. . . .
>
> I don't want to hurt your feelings, but what kind of a life does John Doe Citizen have? He lives with his parents and goes to school and works. Then he gets married and has children and works. By the time the children are ready to have their own families, he's too old to do anything else. (Why would this question hurt my feelings?) I didn't know—you might be a family person yourself.
>
> Don't you know that all the inmates are putting up a big front about the program? What inmate wants to be rehabilitated? I've only known one. All the rest are just going along in order to get out. I suppose you think that if you keep them at it long enough some of it will rub off.
>
> I know I'll get denied because of the jacket on me and that six-month loss of Board date.[3] So whatever the Board says to do this next year I'll do. If they tell me to stand on my head all year, I'll do just that. Whatever I do will be so I can take it to the Board. I've got to get out.

Eric seems sure of his ability to con[4] his way into apparent conformity within the institution, but he is less certain about his chances on parole.

> I'll find a job and I'll stick to it long enough to get off parole. If I ever do get off parole. I know I won't get violated for stealing again, but maybe for some technical violation.

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[3] Board date: Appointment with parole board when date for release on parole is determined.

[4] To con: To manipulate other people's needs for selfish interests.

Accepting this temporary period of conformance allows Eric to maintain an important aspect of his self-image—that of the manipulator and organizer of others—because during this period he remains within the social system and has access to those others. He likes to remember that he was one of the three chiefs of his teen-age gang on the streets. In C Unit, although he has never played football before, he has been one of the organizers of the football team, and since the end of the official season has set up his own team. Long before Eric was transferred to C Unit I heard about him from the air mechanics instructor who told me about a very intelligent student in his shop to whom he could teach nothing:

> He is always figuring out how to do something different from the assignment and then organizing all the other students to carry out his ideas. I can't tell exactly how he does it, because he is never there when the trouble starts. But he's always back of it. I've never seen such an agitator.

The sense of being the active manipulator is such an important part of Eric's self-image that he has peopled his future life in the wilderness with followers. For all Eric's demand that people leave him alone, he needs people around him to con, dominate, involve, and organize in order to maintain his self-image as one who is superior.

Finally, as Eric talks, one becomes aware of a latent but very potent self-image from which he averts his eyes. Although much of his talk is devoted to proving that he is different from and therefore superior to others, one notices that he vaunts in his own performance the same behavior he professes to despise in others. His intense searching for the evil in others seems to be a tenuous protection against knowing the self he fears himself to be, contemptible, weak, depraved, and hypocritical. Eric's underlying, not quite conscious, self-image is perhaps satanic, that of the lost soul forever damned by its consummate and unforgivable wickedness.

MORAL ORIENTATIONS

Except for drug use and homosexuality there is nothing illegitimate that Eric does not claim to prefer to its legitimate counterpart.

There is a "you name it, I've done it" attitude as he recounts his delinquent activities. The instant offense involved breaking into a church building, stealing silver bowls, cracking the safe for $1400, and collecting various other items.

> We wouldn't have been caught if we hadn't gotten turned around and gone out the wrong door. Here we were on a dead-end street, our car on the other side of the building, 3:00 A.M. and two policemen cruising by just as we came out of the alley. My crime partner got caught, but I managed to get away. I didn't know then that I had left my wallet with all my identification papers on the seat of the car. So when I came back to the hotel two weeks later the police had the place staked out.

He and his crime partner had been living in one hotel room while two runaway girls —one of them Eric's "common-law wife"—lived in another room. "We made out all right this way. The management would never have let us have the rooms as couples."

Eric's delinquent history is extensive. He was first involved with the law at age ten when the man for whom he was selling Christmas trees seduced him into homosexual acts. After this Eric's parents sent him to a Catholic Boys' school, although they were not Catholics themselves, in order to get him out of a community where there had been much unsavory publicity. He was kicked out of this institution. In Eric's teens he was part of the gang warfare in a large city and, according to his own report, seen by police as one of the three chiefs of the "worst" gang. The timber fire got him to a correctional institution for youths at age 15. While on parole Eric and a friend went into the interior of Mexico where the friend's father had ranching and commercial activities. There Eric "helped around the place" and was "completely happy for the only time in my life" for six months. Without being able to explain why, he left this happy existence to come back to his family. "I guess blood is thicker than water." He was returned to the correctional institution as a parole violator. It was apparently after this experience that he enlisted in the Navy.

In the Navy Eric claims to have done well for nine months. He liked the service and was within two months of entering a special program for training in the use of explosives, the thing he most wanted to do.

> My buddy and I were at the end of our leave and I just didn't come back. They gave me an undesirable discharge on the basis that I had been incarcerated before I entered the service. I don't know why I didn't go back. I guess I had just got tired of waiting for the assignment I wanted. I had applied for that detail in boot camp nine months before. I guess I'm impatient.

Eric takes pride in his acquaintance with known criminals. When I asked if he had ever known "successful criminals," Eric boasted that "I knew at least forty parolees in my home town." When I pointed out that parolees weren't necessarily successful criminals, Eric went on to mention "two I know who get away with stealing on a steady basis and don't get caught."

Although Eric admits to many kinds of interests, any of which might lead to a legitimate work life, he thinks he is too lazy to find any of them satisfactory as a steady diet. He attributes his laziness to his early upbringing under his stepfather "who was a farm boy and thought everybody ought to work from sunup to sundown. I had my fill of that. Even when I was a little kid they always found something for me to do after school and in vacations, either in my mother's cleaning shop or with my stepfather, who had a construction business."

Eric's one intense distaste in the illegitimate world is homosexuality. "I stay away from that. I don't like it, I guess because I got shocked early. There was this man—I don't even like to think about it." After he had given me the facts he added, "That's one of the worst things about being in an institution—being away from women. I'm a woman's man myself." Since distaste and fascination are so closely linked for Eric, I found myself wondering whether even his apparently intense aversion to homosexuality actually wards off occasional episodes of acting out.

FAMILY ROLE

Early in the interview Eric volunteered the fact that he had learned first from a member of the reformatory staff that his mother had divorced his father. She had always told him that his father had been killed in service parachuting from a balloon. His father was a German seaman who tried twice to get into the United States by jumping ship. Once he was deported but the second time he was accepted in a special military project in connection with balloons and was given his citizenship. Before he finally reached the United States to stay he was one of "twelve men who first explored the upper reaches of a South American river by boat." Eric sees his father as a larger-than-life hero, German in spite of his U. S. citizenship. Since he has been told of his parents' divorce, Eric realizes that he really has no information about his father's whereabouts or even if he is alive.

Eric remembers an early home life in which "it always ended up me and my sister and my mother against my stepfather. My stepfather would tell us to do something and as soon as he turned around my mother would tell us not to. Then he would try to punish us and my mother would turn against him to protect us."

Of this threesome, Eric feels close only to his sister, although now he does not hear from her since she married and left the country. But in one of the few spots in the interview when Eric sounded like a normal person, he asked me if I had lived in his home town and then went on to ask if I knew some of his friends. He mentioned three owners of furniture stores as persons who would help him get a job when he gets out. They were friends of his sister and brother-in-law and used to include Eric in their welcome, "have me over for a cup of coffee."

Eric likes C Unit group meetings because "it may sound opposite to what I have been saying, but I like everybody to get together once in a while, just talk and be together. The only time I liked having a family was at times like Christmas when everybody would gather around."

ROLE WITH PEERS

It is in the area of peer relations that Eric's sense of omnipotence most obscures his perception of the facts. He speaks of having close friends in the institution, two of whom expect to join him in his wilderness future. He takes it for granted that these friends are under his control, and in fact, the three of them are known by both officials and inmates as a "tight clique."[5] Eric also assumes a "smart con" attitude as he talks of his reputation in the total institutional population. He speaks airily of being "in the know" and of "other inmates coming to me for advice," inferring that he is accepted in the communication system of the elite. He does not mention that his nickname with both inmates and officials in the reformatory is "Mad Dog"; nor that the C Unit football manager had to take strong measures to protect him from physical violence administered by his fellows during scrimmage sessions.

As I talked with Eric, I could understand why he might attract other inmates and at the same time irritate them to the point of fury. He has a quick, inventive intelligence and makes a plausible presentation of himself as one who knows more than others. His manner is intended to induce in others a sense of being inferior and uncertain, and this posture is undoubtedly an asset in establishing sporadic leadership in the "society of captives" where certainty is at a premium under the best of circumstances. But Eric also speaks as though he may often agitate and plot without actually sharing in the risks of action since he has no commitments, loses interest easily, and tends to leave duller souls to execute fantastic plans that might prove dangerous to his own interests.

In the institution, there are several different versions of how Eric relates with his peers. Eric naturally sees himself as a leader in inmate subversion of the official system. Interestingly enough, the top custody authorities accept Eric's own evaluation of his influence over his fellows, perceiving him as especially dangerous; the discipline committee has more than once placed Eric in isolation as a central agitator in plots for which he had no actual responsibility. But the real "right guys"[6] of the institution carefully avoid having anything to do with Eric; and his permanent clique consists of persons who are even more distorted and inadequate than he. At the same time Eric is almost always somewhere in the picture when inmates are organizing themselves for action, whether as leader or as fringe agitator it is difficult to say.

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[5] Tight: Closely knit together and excluding others. One of Eric's clique is Clyde, Case Study # 5.

The important diagnostic point lies in the realization that peer respect is desperately important to Eric and that this is an area in which his reality sense is particularly defective. It is possible that peer relationships offer the most efficient tool for correcting Eric's distorted perceptions of the social world, provided his fellows can be mobilized to assist staff in treatment.

ROLE WITH OFFICIALS

Eric sees himself as one who can get along well with officials when he wants to by conning them and putting on a front. However, he prefers to "agitate" them by needling and setting one against another. He was particularly tickled when reporting the story of a school official in the reformatory who won't let him back into the vocational program because: "Well, you see the work instructor gave me a write-up and an officer tore it up. Then the instructor gave me another write-up and the same officer tore it up again. So there was this big hassle and the school supervisor said 'no more.' "

There have been only two adults that Eric can remember whom he has "liked enough for me to want to be like them." One was a neighbor in the early days who lived next door for two years and used to show him how to make explosives. "I was over in his house all the time." The other was a cottage supervisor in the institution for delinquent youth. "We used to talk a lot. But then he was more like us than a superior." He thinks of his present counselor "not as a counselor, but as just one of the boys. He has a lot of the same interests." In Eric's framework adults are no longer members of the official world if they can communicate in his terms. Otherwise they are to be manipulated, feared, subverted, humiliated, and fought.

OPPORTUNITY SYSTEM EXPERIENCES

Eric seems to have had more opportunities for successful adjustment than is usual for individuals who show behavior problems so early in life. His family was economically comfortable and committed to an upper-working-class, somewhat puritanical way of life. He was fifteen before he was committed to a correctional institution, and before that his family had secured a "treatment center" resource for him through a Catholic private agency. In the first correctional institution, he reports having been offered psychiatric help. At one time he had what he describes as an ideal existence in Mexico where he could have stayed indefinitely. The fact that he was accepted in the Navy and had a nine-month successful career with opportunities for further training is itself unusual given his history of previous offenses. He reports completion of the eleventh grade in high school. It is not quite clear how he got access to and became so embedded in teen-age gang operations, unless it was by personal choice, since his family's mode of living would not have forced this sort of association upon him. What we seem to see is a boy who for personality reasons has sought out delinquent opportunities, yet who has repeatedly been able to impress official persons with his potentialities for a more acceptable adjustment if given a chance.

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[6] Right guy: Strong individual who buys favor from neither officials nor inmates. Does his own time but knows what is going on.

RESPONSE TO STRESS

Eric gives evidence of continuous stress arising from within, expressed symbolically in action. The greatest source of stress from outside seems to be anything that is regular, humdrum, legitimate or lacking in excitement. He deals with stress by creating crises through which he can live and relive his inner fantasy.

RESPONSE TO HELP

A good deal of the interview was spent in discussing the idea of "help." For Eric help is a meaningless word to which squares are stupidly dedicated. As far as he can see, these foolish people have the goal of changing him by some sort of magical manipulation that relies on and uses "deep" knowledge about him. He believes he is strong enough to foil these efforts.

> I've been talked to by the hour by all sorts of psychiatrists and social workers. I remember a psychiatrist and me sitting for an hour and a half saying absolutely nothing. He said he wanted to help me. I said I didn't want his help. So we sat there.

Eric's basic protection against efforts to change him consists of presenting an opaque self to those who seek to know him in order to help: "I think I know how to let staff know only what I want them to know about me."

case study 10

ONE & ONE QUARTER-HOUR INTERVIEW

HAL

HAL is a slight, unformed youth of twenty years. He presented himself in a vague, confused, rambling fashion, stumbling over words, substituting "you know" in every sentence for concrete references to the facts of his life and mixing chronology so it was almost impossible to follow him. He began the interview with a rush, saying he was "pleased to talk" and jumped into a description of his current state of tension due to the fact that his parole date is scheduled for two months hence, provided he doesn't get any disciplinary write-ups before then. By the middle of the interview he seemed to have lost his anxieties and was grinning with a kind of childish pleasure as he described various messes he has been in. At the end he made no response to my summary of the various concerns he had expressed earlier, evidencing an amorphous relaxation by dropping into unrealistic clichés about his future and finally yawning several times (again like a small child) as though his attention span had been overextended.

PERCEPTION OF SOCIAL WORLD

Hal perceives life as a series of unrelated events that happen to him. He frequently made such comments as "I don't know how that thought came to me, you know. I never done that when I was drunk before." "It didn't seem like me, you know, like the idea came from my subconscious or somewhere." "I don't know what trouble I might get into, maybe an idea would come to my mind, you know, and I might act without thinking." Not only does he not perceive himself as a responsible actor in the series of relatively minor disturbances he has created, but he also does not order these events in time, speaking of events in one stage in his life as though they directly followed events in a later period with no indication that he is aware of either causal or chronological sequences.

He reports people as "liking" him and, so long as they "like" him, he seems to have no discrimination among them whether it is the forty-five-year-old Indian man who provided him beer on hot days, the red-haired girl who writes to him, the other students at the Bible School, the agricultural instructor in the institution, or the other inmates. The only person for whom Hal specifically expressed feeling (a vague kind of identification of self with other) was his younger brother, aged seventeen, who has just graduated from high school. "That made me feel good. I got to thinking, here I am in here and it might be me." It's hard to tell what his actual relationships are with these people. One has the sense that he is an inoffensive hanger-on who buys his way with his mechanical grin and who doesn't know the difference between friends and acquaintances—as though anyone who is friendly in manner is automatically a friend.

Hal also lacks awareness of what is happening in problem situations. He sensed no problem with his family when he got "ninety days in the county jail for drinking or a hundred dollars."

> My family visited me and when I got out it was just as though it hadn't happened, you know. Walk in, good dinner, my brother, everybody, just as though I hadn't been away. (What did your parents do? Were they angry, disappointed?) I guess my father seemed to—well, sort of pity me, you know, I guess that was it.

There was a poolhall proprietor who kept throwing him out of the pool hall, saying "I don't want no trouble around here." Hal grinned as though this was funny, but he couldn't report what was bothering the man, "I was just hanging around, you know." More puzzling was the judge who told him he was nothing but a bum. "He made me feel as though I was just this tall, you know, no higher than that," [hand about two inches off the table] but Hal had no idea why the judge might have spoken that way.

SELF-IMAGE

Hal has a severely limited sense of self; in fact, almost a sense of alienation from the self that acts. This self keeps getting unanticipated ideas that cause him to act "without thinking." "I mostly don't care about what the outcome will be." He was going along to high school in the senior class.

> No ball of fire but doing all right. Taking it for granted, you know. My parents, nobody—we never talked about it. I just get on the school bus every day, go to school, get on the bus at night, come home. Then one day, I don't know what come over me, you know, I just said, I get off the bus next stop. So I quit school.

Hal also has an uneasy sense of not belonging in the messes he finds himself involved in, although he isn't very clear where he does belong.

> I just don't belong here. It feels as though it isn't me, you know. . . .I know I'm not a bum. Just because a guy has a beer after work, plays some pool, has a hamburger and milkshake, drops by for a little gambling doesn't mean he's a bum, you know.

I asked him what he thought he was. Hal found this hard to answer.

> Well, when I'm working, I'm a good workman, I know that. (And when you're not working?) Well, I guess I'm not anyone, you know. Just lie around, you know, see what comes along. I do know I like to drink. Not that I get too drunk, you know, but what's the good of drinking unless you get some drunk?

Hal is very uneasy under expectations from without such as he finds in the institution, and speaks of himself as "doing hard time, you know, all the time. Just being here, you know." When pushed for what bothers him, "I'd rather have been in the County Jail, you know, just do my time, you know. Can't get any write-ups[1] there. I was surprised, you know, I didn't expect all this vocational training, you know." However, such pressures for performance apparently generate vague uneasiness rather than focused tension. Such generalized anxieties are then discharged easily through talk and minor misbehavior without being identified or channeled into organized problem solving activity.

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[1] Write-up: A written report of behavior requiring disciplinary action.

His blurred sense of self is reflected in his difficulties with language. Almost the only problem he anticipates on going out is learning to talk without using jail-house vocabulary. He remembers the boss in the Federal forestry service who took him on after he was on probation.

> He said when I came on that one thing he wouldn't stand for was filthy language. I'd find myself using a word that meant pretty bad things, you know, and then I couldn't think of something else to say. See, I can't even say words straight now [referring to his stumbling speech.] It's going to be hard when I get out.

It is as though he has no language for himself and drops easily into a kind of verbal mimicry of whatever is customary in his surroundings, taking on the coloration of his surroundings without any inner definition of himself as different.

Hal's goals for his future are equally vague. He didn't want to get a high school diploma in the reformatory because some time he might be asked where he got it and be identified as a parolee. He says he will go back to school on the outside, but he has made no realistic plan to buttress this self-reassurance. When he talks about work on the outside he speaks about landscaping because he is taking the agricultural program in the reformatory and had once started a correspondence course in landscaping on the outside. This in spite of the fact that the rural area in which he lives would offer limited opportunities for use of even a highly specialized skill in this work. He is perhaps more realistic when he thinks of finding "something" until later in the season when he can perhaps get into either State or Federal forestry work (he has spent some weeks in each service). As he describes work-hunting experiences before he came to the reformatory, his taste in jobs proves to be random. He tells of hanging around a hosiery mill when they were employing personnel, trying to get in on lumbering work: "They just didn't hire me, you know, they were taking on other men"; visiting motels to see if they needed odd jobs taken care of; and spending one day helping a man move furniture. "I made twenty-five dollars in fourteen hours that day. I kinda thought I would like that kind of work."

MORAL ORIENTATIONS

Although Hal has had a religious upbringing, it is obvious that he makes no inner link between religion, a moral code, and behavior. He does what occurs to him or what is easiest and feels no guilt or anxiety over misbehavior because the "crazy idea" comes from the "not-self." It is impossible to get from him a direct statement describing his offenses—not just because he covers up from the interviewer—but apparently because his memory of such episodes is clouded and confused.

I asked about the trouble that brought him to the reformatory.

> That was funny, you know. I went up to the high school to see my girl and she had to leave—some bell rang or something. I went down to get me a frosty

> and there was this guy—real young, not more than sixteen—and he had this fifth of whiskey. Where he got it being so young I don't know. Well, we drunk it up between us and did he get drunk. I didn't get all that drunk because I kept burping it up. There was this burnt-over area, all dry—there'd been a fire a year back—and then we was in this olive orchard. That's where we drank most of it, and boy, was he drunk. There was this guy on a motorcycle, he couldn't get it going, you know, a bolt needed tightening. Then this woman on the church steps started screaming at us to get away. I don't know why I didn't notice the police coming, you know, one on each side coming like this. (I asked why the police were there.) I don't know. I guess the woman called them, you know. It was funny. See, this was in the church. I don't know how the idea got into my head. I wasn't that drunk. I never did nothing like that when I was drunk before. (I asked what he actually did.) I hauled off and hit the guy right there with the police watching. They took me off to jail. I think the young guy ratted, yes, that's what he did. I saw them bringing him along the alley, and he fell flat on his face, burping all over himself. I never did see a guy so drunk, you know.

A previous episode in a small tourist city was less complicated, but the report is no more detailed. Hal had earned enough by firefighting to save a couple of hundred dollars, so he went off to visit his older sister who was living two hundred miles from home with three other students in a motel, attending a Bible college. Hal spent some time seeing the sights along the beach.

> I liked it real good for a while, you know. Then I got this crazy idea. I don't know how it come to me. I was getting a drink in a hotel bar where I hung around, and I saw a door. I went in, you know, and started to open a box. I saw a man come to the door and I saw I had left it open. I said, "There, I've sure done it this time." And they caught me red-handed. If I'm not smart enough to pull a little old job like that, I'm not smart enough to get away with the big stuff.

Questioning only brought vague confirmation that the box was a money box with several hundred dollars in it. But how he was detected, who caught him, and what happened next remains unclear. I gathered that Hal was arrested, placed on probation, and ordered back home, where he was already on probation for a series of drunk and disorderly charges. Clearly Hal has been no more focused and skillful in his delinquent activities than in school or work. He is led by "young fellows," leaves a door open, does not notice police observing him, is fascinated by the antics of a young drunk but pays no attention to danger signals in the situation.

Hal's complete isolation of religion from effective values becomes clear when one learns more of his life story. His father is a part-time preacher with Holy Roller Pentacostals. Apparently all the family time outside of school or work has been taken up by church activities. Hal has been "saved" several times and has been baptized by the "spirit," speaking with "tongues" and rolling about the floor. He spent two years boarding in a Bible School. He remembers at one stage going with his father to daily luncheons attended by all the men of the church and, into his teens, he spent weekends and vacations at a camp for young people of the church.

However, Hal could not report how, given this kind of background, he got acquainted with the gambling, pool hall set with whom he was associating previous to his commitment. He learned to drink from two Indian men living next door who would invite him over on hot afternoons to sit on their front porch and drink beer. Now when he isn't working, he finds something around the house to hock, "an old fishing pole, you know, something like that," and goes to some poker game to see if he can build a pile. He reports buying a few chips and then getting some guy with plenty of chips to stake him for more "so I win a pile for him." He has apparently done several stretches in the county jail for "drunk and disorderly" although he claims not to get assaultive when he is drinking, "just rough and tumble, you know." When he has free time, he evidently wanders from one spot to another finding someone to talk to in a bar, pool hall, hamburger joint, or game room, and is just around whenever trouble starts. In the institution he is known for passive homosexual activity, "He gives it away free," although he denied this kind of involvement in the interview.

Hal's motivation for doing better when he gets out seems no stronger than a desire to avoid the uneasy feeling he experiences in "this place." He says his parents are praying for him, "but I have to pray myself to make the prayers work." Even so, in the institution, all his energy is devoted to the self-control required to avoid write-ups for an interminable two months until parole, and evidently he has little inner assurance that during this time some crazy idea won't pop up to make him act without thinking. Apparently he has no desire to hurt anyone else, no strong feelings to control, no guilt about what he has done; just a kind of tropism for whatever is easiest, available, and momentarily pleasant. In the delinquency-prone situations to which he gravitates he probably buys his acceptance by allowing himself to be used in various ways and perceives this exploitation as social acceptance. One would imagine that he could have been involved in homosexual activities long before he came to the reformatory.

FAMILY ROLE

The family consists of father and mother with four children. "I'm the oldest boy." The father has earned a living as an odd-job mechanic while taking on preaching responsibilities in small-town Pentacostal churches. The family seems to have moved frequently within a limited rural area.

Although Hal is the only member of his family in trouble, there seems to be no rejection of him because of his misbehavior. His mother is concerned that youthful offenders are put into an institution with "hardened criminals," and Hal feels that adult convicts are in general this bad lot to whom he has been unnecessarily exposed. I gathered from Hal's scattered remarks that the family perceives him as a victim and "pities" him, taking no strong moral stand about acceptable behavior. To a certain extent, his blurred picture of his actual misdeeds may have come from long practice in presenting such versions to his family in order to get their support in disclaiming responsibility. His shock reaction to the judge's statement that he was "a bum" sounds as though this was the first time that Hal had been told plain truths about his behavior. One infers that the family is so focused on "being saved" as the chief criterion for goodness that they have given little attention to behavior training as a means for internalizing values.

ROLE WITH PEERS

Apparently Hal makes little differentiation between peers and others. Anyone who will let him tag along and will talk with him, be he young or old, is equally acceptable for filling time and can assume the leadership role.

Hal talks of girl friends, but shows them as taking the initiative.

> There was this cute little redhead—she was awfully young. She kept writing to me all the time when I was in the forestry service, you know, these letters like she was mad about me. I wrote to her sometimes, you know, but I didn't like her all that well. Just some joke I happened to think of, things like that you know.

He doesn't want to get married, at least not for a long time. "There's money to think of, you know."

When Hal was young enough to have his time organized by church activities, he participated in youth groups as well as in activities involving both young and old. But although he speaks of having fun at the Church camp, he evidently participated because here was an available crowd that satisfied his amorphous need for gregarious, time-filling activities, without developing any strong loyalties or goal strivings as a result of such participation. It is interesting that Hal has not participated in any interest groups during his stay in C Unit, and speaks of having made his institutional friends haphazardly in the yard or wherever he has been assigned in program.

ROLE WITH OFFICIALS

Except for the pool-hall proprietor and the judge who called him a bum, Hal sees himself as liked by officials if they are not too demanding. He was surprised because the city probation officer came "way out of his way, forty or fifty miles" to see about his situation at the time of his latest trouble. However, he thinks of the agricultural instructor as "pretty strict, you know, the lets you know what you're supposed to do. He says he doesn't get any pay for his job—he must make some money somewhere." There is no one in the adult role for whom he shows affection and there is no evidence of a desire to learn from adult role models. His counselor is nice and helped him when he needed a job change, but "I guess I got all the counseling I needed." Adults are to like and help him, but Hal gets uneasy and fades away when they set up even minimal expectations for performance involving effort on his part. Adults, on their part, evidently see him as ineffectual and a possible nuisance, unless they have some desire to exploit him. As a result, he probably gets little focused attention designed to help him develop inner disciplines.

OPPORTUNITY SYSTEM EXPERIENCES

Hal's approach to social opportunity systems has apparently been formed by patterns developed in family and church, where an unquestioning adaptability and readiness to assume the coloration of his surroundings has been accepted as a substitute for effort and accomplishment. In school and work, the expectations have been for performance at tasks, and Hal is just not organized to respond acceptably. He repeatedly spoke of applying for work and watching others get hired for even low-skill jobs while he was passed over. Even in firefighting, he was the first to be dropped—"Of course I was the last one hired, you know." Although he got through the eleventh grade in school (by age 18) and had a job in the forestry service for "three or four months," he seems to be the kind of marginal performer who is the last to be hired by any system and the most easily dropped.

RESPONSE TO STRESS

Stress is produced for Hal by expectations that he perform responsibly in relation to tasks. The stress is experienced as generalized anxiety and he escapes by withdrawing wherever possible. He vaguely perceives that effort must come from within—"I know when I am going to get good grades on a test in the Ag Lab, you know. When I study I do all right, but if I give it a pass, then I can't do it, you know"—although he has limited means for organizing himself to do something positive in response to stress. He maintains a kind of primitive self-control when faced with the demand for two months' clean time[2] in order to get his parole date, and under this kind of short term threat he makes some effort. But in general, he escapes from outer pressures by leaving school, getting drunk, or discharging tension in aimless misbehavior. It is the expectations inherent in the reformatory program that make him prefer county jail, "where you can do your time and there aren't all these write-ups."

RESPONSE TO HELP

Help, for Hal, is making things more immediately pleasant for him. He doesn't think of anything the institution should have done to make his time more valuable. He has no perception of "problems" in connection with which he could have used counseling help, and little apparent ability to form an attachment to someone who might try to involve him in active problem solving.

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[2] Clean Time: Period in the institution without disciplinary action.

case study 11

ONE–HOUR INTERVIEW

BARRY

FROM THE BEGINNING of his stay in C Unit over a year ago, twenty-three-year-old Barry refused to participate in any Unit activity, including counseling and research interviews. He insisted he would go to isolation indefinitely rather than cooperate with the Unit program, and when ducated[1] for counseling interviews would stand at the door yelling obscenities at his counselor. The counselor adopted the practice of sending Barry an interview ducat once a week; then on Barry's appearance the counselor would countersign the pass, thus permitting Barry to return to his regular assignment at once. As Barry began to relax he discovered that the counselor came from his home state and, with this common ground for conversation, he remained in the interview room for increasingly long chats, provided always that the subject matter never touched anything personal beyond what was necessary for Board reports and parole arrangements.

On the day before Barry was released on parole, his counselor asked me if I would still like to conduct the research interview. The counselor believed that Barry might agree to see me if I was available immediately after parole arrangements had been completed in the counselor's office. Accordingly I arranged my schedule to be free and Barry was introduced by the counselor after the two of them had spent an hour in affable discussion.

Barry came into my office walking like a boxer entering the ring. He was smiling, and he continued to smile during the interview, but his basic facial expression was set and ageless. He might have been ten or twenty years older than his chronological age. Throughout the hour he sat warily on the edge of his chair. Three times he started to leave, but, by giving him assurance that he was controlling the nature of the subject matter for discussion, arousing his curiosity, and showing interest in his "theories," I drew him into longer and longer disquisitions. Although, by his stipulation, no topic was to touch on "personal matters," his talk was unexpectedly self-revealing.

From the beginning of the interview he attacked me directly, making statements that were obviously intended to hurt and to arouse hostility. However, his manner of attack was bland as though he were dissecting a piece of protoplasm under the microscope, and there was no overt evidence of hostile affect toward me. He evidenced no curiosity about what I was like; rather he had already made up his mind about me and my motivations. He made his pronouncements about me with a cold, detached logic, as one who contemptuously describes the operations of meaningless little creatures operating far beneath his mountain-top perspective. Within his rigid and subtly distorted framework, I sensed an interesting mind at work that was capable of selecting the significant matters for consideration, but that continually misperceived the nature of social reality. At no moment did he evidence ability to talk as one human being to another. The interview was most like two strange animals sniffing about each other, observing and being observed but experiencing no meaning in the interchange

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[1] Ducat: Written pass to some official program assignment or interview.

The recording of the interview reflects the topics that Barry was willing to discuss.

THE UNIT

Barry twice told me: "As you remember, a year ago I tried to get out of the Unit. I was told that if I got out then other inmates would also have an excuse to get out, and I can see your point of view." He went on:

> I didn't like the Unit then and I still don't like anything about it. I don't like to be forced into things. I know what you are trying to do. You are trying to study us, categorize us, for some future contribution to knowledge, and to do that I understand you have to experiment with human beings. But I tell you most of the men don't like it and don't want anything to do with it. They only go along because you people have the power to make their time longer if they don't pretend to like it, take part in the program and such. I'm not that kind, and I don't like to see people forced to live double lives with part of them lying all the time because they are afraid not to. I'm telling you honestly what I have observed. You asked me and I'm leveling with you because I'm going out tomorrow, and you can't do anything to hurt me. The Unit inmates are different, and I don't like to live around that kind of people.

I commented: "That's interesting. Are they really different?"

According to Barry, there are three kinds of people in the Unit. There are those who do their own time, don't like the Unit, and won't be pushed into pretending. There is a second group who put on a shuck[2] because they think they have to appear to like the program and take part in it in order to get favorable consideration by the Parole Board. "You know when this is happening. You can see it for yourself." There is also another group of inmates who like what the Unit is doing:

> They want to belong. They come from broken homes. You can tell those people just by looking at them. You offer them a group, they think "someone likes me." They have been looking for something all their lives, and they think "this is it." But it is what happens out there after they get out that matters. When people like this get out there they aren't going to find anyone setting up groups for them, paying them a lot of attention. They're convicts and no one will want them around. They'll be shy, afraid of getting looked down on, and then where are they? They are worse off because they don't have what it takes. No one will care about doing it for them, and they won't be able to do it for themselves. You have made them more dependent, really harmed them, because they haven't learned to take care of themselves. Maybe if you organized some athletic clubs out there, introduced them around to people who could give them a feeling of belonging they would be all right on parole, because they are the kind that will go along with anything, and if they belong to the right set, then they will do right. But I don't have any problems like that out there. If you are going to put on a program, you ought to put your energy into people like that.

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[2] Shuck: Act designed to trick staff into believing that the individual inmate shares staff goals and is working to become "rehabilitated."

I commented that one of the results of the Unit program might be to identify those inmates for whom a particular kind of program is most useful. He had, himself, just made an interesting categorization of kinds of inmates. I wondered where he would place himself. Barry responded with a move toward getting up: "That's getting into my motives, and I'm not talking about myself. You asked me about the Unit and I'll tell you what I have observed." I said with a smile that I had broken the ground rule without thinking because I was interested in his formulation. He should warn me if, because I was interested, I got into forbidden territory again. But his was the kind of perspective we felt should go into the pot with all the other points of view. I wondered if I was out of bounds in asking this question: Why had he been unwilling to contribute his observations to the pool of ideas being collected by the Project? Barry responded: "I never contribute to anything. When you contribute something you have lost it and that's losing a part of yourself."

THE INSTITUTION

I asked if Barry would tell me what he had gotten from his institutional experience. He responded with emphasis, "A great deal." When I asked what kind of thing, Barry grinned and said, "Now you are asking me about my personal business." When I agreed that I had goofed again, Barry went on to speak of his four and a half years in the reformatory as having "taught me a lot." He has been around these kinds of people before "because they are people and you find them everywhere," but here he has done a lot of observing.

> You can make doing time whatever you want. Everybody has just one life to live, and he can make each piece of it a hell or a heaven, whichever he wants, by the way he takes it. Things go on happening to you, wherever you are. So long as it isn't a war where the person would be risking the possibility of getting killed, he can take whatever comes and it is up to him to make the best possible out of what is available in that place. If you take any other approach, you make "doing time" so hard it is impossible.

I asked if it had been all good; weren't there some things he would change about his institutional experience? Barry spoke with his lofty grin, saying there were hundreds of things he could mention that were wrong with the place—but what was the use? "The law said the institution has to be here, and I had to take what was provided by you and all the other taxpayers so long as there is a law that says men have to be locked up." No further probing persuaded him to give an example of the kind of thing that bothered him about institutional life. I commented, that for instance, many inmates found the continuous evidences of degradation—the being treated with suspicion all the time, the unnecessary rudeness of certain staff members, the shakedowns and such—most irksome. If I were an inmate, I would expect this to bother me. Again in his semisneering manner, Barry responded, "Maybe you would. Everybody is an individual and every individual could give you a different answer."

Barry went on, however, to say:

> One guard can ask you where you are going in a neutral way so you don't know what he has in mind, but when another guard snarls at you, you know exactly what he has in mind. You can take a dog and train him to recognize tones of voice, but we are not dogs, we understand words too. We put it all together,

> like computers, and know just what the other person has in mind. Everybody, in any kind of contact, is always sizing the other person up.

He then spoke with contempt of inmates who allow themselves to get "regimentated" by prison life.

> They are the ones who give up and let themselves get conditioned. You can see the point where this giving up happens and after that the inmate gradually lets it get to him. But outside is completely different from inside the institution. If you watch yourself, you can avoid the point where conditioning begins to happen. Then there will be no effect at all on you from having been inside.

Finally Barry said, still smiling, that he didn't really know what this conversation was about. "I've lost the thread of it myself. I hope you know what you want because it doesn't make any sense to me." I answered that I had found his point of view very interesting.

THE NATURE OF HUMAN BEINGS

Barry then volunteered:

> You know, I have a theory—I'm taking up a lot of your valuable time. I don't know what all this is in aid of. I hope you do. I don't like the feeling of being psychoanalyzed—but then I don't care because I'll be out tomorrow and I won't even remember you exist. I have a theory about these people with problems. You have heard of brain tumors—I suppose you have. Well, the way they start is a person thinks he has a problem and he starts worrying about it and it gets more and more absorbing to him. Gradually all he can think about is his problem, it blots everything else out whether he is working or playing. Well, all this roils up the "life force" or whatever you call it that goes through the brain. Now the brain is just a piece of meat and all this disturbance of the life force causes friction, creates a rut in the brain and it ends up as a tumor.

I asked if a man with a problem could choose whether he would or wouldn't start this worrying process and Barry assured me that he could, with the implication that this is just what he does.

> You've heard of psychosomatic medicine. What is needed is the psychiatrists sharing their knowledge with the medical profession and the doctors sharing their knowledge with the psychiatrists. This doesn't happen because they are too busy snarling at each other over their differences and protecting their own little boundaries of knowledge. But when they get around to looking at it with some give and take, they will find that this is what causes brain tumors—stomach ulcers definitely too, and maybe some other troubles.
>
> Well, that's my theory for whatever it is worth. Today's society is all for materialism and that's good enough for me. You have a purpose. I'm for materialism—get what I can out of this life. You only have one life to live. Why not get the most out of it you can? Now, you have this purpose to gain knowledge with which to change prison programs. I believe society is making progress—I know it is chiefly veneer, but we are getting further ahead than we were. To

> make progress, we have to know more, get more information. But to achieve this purpose, you have to go off on a mountain top by yourself—out of communication with everybody else. The more you hunt for the answer, the further away you get from what is really happening. When you do get the answer you will find that everyone is gone and it is too late to do anything about it. So where are you with all this work?—You will just have to begin all over again.

As he got up to go, I said I appreciated his talking with me and asked if I might wish him good luck on parole. He checked me almost suspiciously: "It isn't all luck." I responded that I knew it was not all luck. However, he had told me that you had to take whatever experiences life gave you and make the most of them for yourself. I would like to wish him that the framework out there would offer him plenty of good things to make something out of. He accepted this and went off still smiling.

After the interview, I gleaned a few additional facts about Barry in a discussion with his counselor. Barry has had one of the most disintegrated family experiences that can be imagined. There have been eleven children in the home, no two of whom seem to have the same father, and some of the fathers have never been identified. Three of the children have different racial backgrounds. Barry's mother has overtly rejected him since he was a baby and he has been tossed back and forth across the country from one placement to another, now with his mother, then to relatives, to foster homes, and back to his mother. Barry's offenses include all kinds of actual and suspected misbehaviors; during this commitment he has been in the reformatory for burglary. His four-and-a-half-year period in the institution is exceptionally long, given his offense. He has repeatedly been denied by the Parole Board because he has been so openly hostile to all kinds of rehabilitative programs. He is being released now only because he has overstayed the usual period for his offense and everyone in the institution has given up hoping that further time inside might persuade him to make some effort to better himself. Among inmates Barry has been an isolate, although in C Unit a number of the more mature inmates have felt sorry for him and have tried to engage him in activities. Barry is being released to live in his mother's home where he is not wanted.

case study 12

TWO-HOUR INTERVIEW

CARL

CARL is a well-set-up youth of twenty-one who is attractive, not in the sense of "good looks" but rather because his expression communicates curiosity, engagement, and response. At the beginning of the interview he was tense, partly because he had a great deal on his mind about which he wanted to talk with me, and he was restraining his natural volubility until I indicated what we were to discuss. When he sensed that I was interested in almost any topic he chose, he relaxed, talking seriously and with vitality not only about himself but also about his analysis of the C Unit program. Because many of his ideas both supported and illuminated the current observations gathered in the research program, I extended the interview time to allow for interchange about ideas. I noted that he was as eager to learn about my rationale for the Project's organization as to communicate his own. As he talked of organizing people for tasks he revealed as much about his own perspective and capacities as when he was recounting the experiences of his personal life.

PERCEPTION OF SOCIAL WORLD

Carl perceives social relations as complex interactions among persons who are responding to both inner needs and external pressures. He evidences considerable empathy, using his own experiences as touchstones to help him understand the behavior of others while at the same time recognizing differences among individuals. In fact Carl enjoys the process of disentangling his own feelings about others from the feelings he imagines they may be experiencing.

Carl's discussion of the Negro group in C Unit illustrates his capacity for flexible consideration of the various factors that enter into human behavior, both his own and others.

> I'm not prejudiced myself. I don't say because a man has black skin he is automatically dirty, loud, and inconsiderate. But I do wish if they are going to raise hell they would do it somewhere off by themselves where they wouldn't disrupt everything for other people who don't want to be interrupted by noise and horseplay. It makes me and other guys hot to have this kind of disturbance around all the time and not to be able to get away from it. I have often thought about why so many of that race seem to be this way. It's a different kind of culture than mine. I expect it has something to do with how they have lived, what they have grown up expecting as natural so they don't really notice it like I do. I also think with the discrimination they meet just because they are Negro, it is their way of showing they don't care and getting their own back. After all I ought to know—that's what I have been doing all my life—being loud and a nuisance, sort of revolting, because I felt inferior and angry. Now, I like Big

> John. I like to talk with him about ideas and I respect him. But sometimes he just doesn't pay attention to being clean enough. When he is that way I stay away from him. When he is clean I enjoy being with him.

Another example of Carl's interest in understanding the feelings of others came as he talked about his mother, who has grossly rejected him in many ways, not only by refusing to have him in the home but also by saying that Carl is "just like my father."

> When I ask her to tell me something good about my father, she won't answer me. He can't have been all bad. After all, she married him and she is a nice woman and my two sisters are fine people. He must have hurt her a lot. She's now in her third marriage and this one seems right for her. I just wish for my sake that she had found what she needed earlier.

I asked what he expected of his relationship with his mother when he is paroled to the city where she now lives.

> You know, it has always seemed that she is just indifferent about me. We are both strained when we are together. It's that we can't get our emotions coordinated. When I suddenly feel "This is Mom" and want to give her a kiss on the cheek, she doesn't feel the same way and turns away. Then there are times when she is maybe feeling "This is my son" and puts her arm around my shoulder, but nothing happens in me and I don't respond to her. I feel cold. I hate to think this way because it should be different, but maybe all we can manage is something you might call good friendship. We haven't lived enough together, shared enough to make it be more. So since I can't go back and have the family I wish I had had, I'll just have to go ahead and build my own family for myself.

Carl has an unusual interest in organization as a factor that helps to determine human behavior. He discussed C Unit not as most inmates do, in terms of its impact on themselves, but as an experiment that could have been better designed to achieve its goals.

According to Carl, the process of random selection for C Unit membership has recently overloaded the Unit population with immature and disorganized individuals who are resistant to the treatment culture. He asked if we wouldn't have done better to start the Unit with relatively mature inmates who had already proved they could get along decently in the institution and then gradually move in troublemakers at a rate that would allow the men in the Unit to train the newcomers before additional difficult individuals were admitted:

> I know it would be hard to tell just who was really mature. Some of the inmates you selected on that basis might be conforming just in order to get out faster and at first they wouldn't really be with the Unit program. But they could change when they found out what is available in the Unit program, and at least if they were conforming, it would show they had some ability to discipline themselves.

He went on to illustrate his point about the need for mature individuals to influence the "bad apples" by describing his own behavior in high school.

> At that time I did a lot of clowning because I felt inferior and inadequate. As a result I got a lot of attention from the kind of wise guy I was myself. But I was a nuisance to the teachers and the serious students stayed away from me. So there I was surrounded by young toughs and as far as I can see problems can't help problems.

Carl was also curious about how the new Unit Council might be better selected to accomplish its job of program planning.

> Now, you look at the election process. Somebody puts a guy on the spot by nominating him to the Council. He says he doesn't want to have anything to do with it and names another guy. Everybody laughs and finally one says, just to be smart, "I don't want to, man. But OK, I'll take it on." But he isn't really interested, it's just another way to get off his work assignment when the Council meets. So when they get to a Council meeting, nobody there is really interested. They aren't picked because they know how to discuss problems and get things done. They get to the meeting and either don't have ideas or they argue just to be arguing. This guy doesn't like that one over there so he supports his partner whether he agrees or not. Wouldn't it be better to have two men from each case load group picked because they know how to think through problems and organize for action? Then when they went back to report to their group there would be two men who knew what to present and one could back the other up to get discussion going.

Carl has organized what he calls a Unit Projects Interest Group to act as a kind of voluntary citizens' advisory group for the Unit. Its members discuss Unit problems among themselves and then ask for a meeting with staff when they have agreed on a recommendation.

> I guess I was trying to be a psychologist when I picked that group. I didn't go after men I liked, but rather men I thought would have something to offer and would work on each other to bring out the best in each. For instance, there's Joseph.[1] Now he's an introvert—usually doesn't have much to say—but you should see him in there pitching in our group. And Andy. Now on the Unit everybody—inmates and staff—think he is a real bad gunsel[2] and on the Unit he acts that way, but in our group he is just as serious and mature as the best of us. An entirely different guy. There's Walt, he's sort of artistic and when you talk with him as an individual he's pretty inflexible in his ideas. But somehow our group makes him able to see other people's points of view and be ready to change his mind about some things. I didn't plan it that way but when I got the six picked, I had representatives of all three races, of young and older inmates, and of all three stages in the Unit—about ready to go out, newcomers, and those who have been in for a while.
>
> I'm the only one in the group that is having trouble. I try to push them too fast. When they want to discuss something that we have already decided

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[1] Case Study #2.

[2] Gunsel: "Little gun." Inmate term for young tough who dramatizes his loyalty to criminality and generally causes trouble both for inmates outside his own gang and for officials.

> I cut it off. I keep saying, "We've decided that. We've got to be together so we can act." I have to watch myself on pushing too hard for action.

As Carl talks one notices that he thinks of social relations as existing for the purpose of accomplishing tasks and achieving shared goals.

He has enjoyed the Unit's interest group program because it has introduced him to areas of knowledge he had never known before—art and history.

> I never joined into conversation about this kind of thing before because I didn't understand what it was all about and felt inadequate. Now I can have something to say too.
>
> I'm on this intellectual trip[3]—I wish I could find some other word for that because that isn't going to sound too good outside—but let's call it an intellectual trip. I like to study, learn about things, but I want someone to discuss the ideas with. I have a hard time on the Unit getting somebody who wants to study with me. That's one thing I know about girls on the outside. I've always found it easy to get nice girl friends, but now for me to be interested I know she's going to have to want to read and discuss things with me. Otherwise she'll be bored and it will be just a date for me. I'll either have to find someone who is already well educated or someone who wants to get educated along with me and we'll educate each other.

Carl evidenced a deep loyalty to the C Unit Project, in spite of his many criticisms of the way it is run. He feels it has done a great deal for him by providing opportunities to "keep my mind occupied with constructive things." His experience in the Unit has been completely different from his earlier stay in the reformatory:

> The first time I was here I never did get on honor status. They kept me here two years. In the hole[4] and out and back again. I was still getting a write-up[5] at least once a month when they finally let me go.

He hopes the C Unit culture will "move upward slowly over time" although he feels it has deteriorated in the last two months. He was deeply absorbed in my report about certain Project experiences that occurred during an earlier high point in the Unit culture. "I wish I could have been part of those." At the end of the interview he commented:

> I wouldn't stay in the institution in order to see it, but I do wish I could be here to see the Project really achieve what it set out to do. I've thought a lot about the Project and I think it is important.

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[3] Trip: An inmate term for rambling conversation about life on the outside, in which each recounts either real stories or fantasies about "good times," feats of daring, "jobs I've pulled," women, etc. In this case Carl refers to unstructured conversation about common interests.

[4] Hole: Disciplinary isolation.

[5] Write-up: A written report of behavior requiring disciplinary action.

Throughout the interview Carl evidenced ability to feel satisfaction in being part of something larger and more important than himself, related to other people around tasks that assume greater significance because of shared goals.

SELF-IMAGE

Carl's ability to empathize with others is based on a quite realistic understanding of himself and how he operates. According to his version he is a person with ability who has fouled up opportunities to make something of himself by using his "front" to get attention instead of disciplining himself to work. He is clear about both his "strong points" and his "weaknesses."

> I am apt to overdo my strong points just because I have so few of them I make sure I really make them stick. My counselor was going through my record and he came across some daily reports on me from one of the orphanages I was in. It said things like "Carl is a mischievious little boy, always into things, but he is essentially honest." I was surprised they thought to put my good points down too. But it is so that I won't lie, I try to tell the truth. I get into trouble sometimes trying to be sure I tell the truth and really go overboard being frank when I don't need to. It's the same way with keeping promises. I hate to have someone tell me he will do a thing and then not do it. I would rather he didn't promise me. So when I have made a promise, I make sure that I keep it. Sometimes I just override other more important things, because I won't let anything stand in my way. If I said I would do it, I do it right now. Sometimes I get discouraged because all I can see are my weak points. Then I go around in a grouchy mood for several days, snapping at people and ready to explode with bad temper.

Carl believes that one of his most serious weaknesses is a tendency to manipulate situations and people, "put on an act," in order to get attention or to cover up an inwardly frightened self.

> I remember at Children's Farm I was always getting into fights. One time some older boys were climbing a rope that was hung over the limb of a tree. I kept at them to give me a chance to climb the rope. Finally they did and I was half way up when one boy tied the bottom end of the rope to the tree trunk with a string. Then the school bell rang and they all ran off leaving me hanging there. I couldn't get down and I couldn't climb up because my arms were too tired. Finally I had to drop off. It didn't hurt me—just shook me up—but was I mad. I ran into that school room and knocked down that guy and before I knew it I was fighting them all, even the teacher. So off I went to the superintendent and he gave me a good hiding. So I ran off and hid for several hours. They were looking for me all over. I hid in a place where I knew they could find me—I was sly that way—because then there was ice cream and everybody saying, come on, everything would be all right.
>
> In high school I didn't take part in regular activities—I felt too inferior, I didn't have any family who cared and somehow I didn't feel I belonged anywhere. But I could always put on an act. See, if I was a character in a play I could do anything because I wasn't showing myself, and people wouldn't see my weak points. Sometimes I would clown in the wrong place, like giving a

> report in class like James Cagney. The class loved it but the teacher didn't. Here in the Unit, I have been able to speak up and take part because everybody here is in the same boat and I didn't feel inferior. I think I have learned here how to be Carl in public. I work so hard at it that maybe I go a bit overboard at times and talk too much.

A second weakness that has interfered with goal achievement is identified by Carl as "I depend on other people to carry me along and don't discipline myself to work."

The Navy used Carl as a storekeeper and started him in a school for further training in commissary. An assignment officer told him his tests showed he had a high IQ. Carl says:

> I sure wish I had stuck with it when I had the opportunity for training. They kept giving me all sorts of breaks because I showed up with ability on their tests. But at the same time I was just letting the Navy take care of me, not settling down to business.

When Carl was on parole before his present commitment to the reformatory he was working in a cafeteria only four hours a week at a dollar an hour:

> I was only making four dollars a week, and I couldn't pay a hotel bill with that. And I needed people around and security. My folks wouldn't take me at home, and all of a sudden there I was—no family to take care of me, no foster home paid to keep me, no Navy to give me security, not even an institution to feed me. So this fellow got me a job in a warehouse—I was kind of a shipping clerk. So I took a room in this real nice boarding house, $125 a month, nice people, three meals a day, big living room with TV and all, and I thought I had it made. But by the time I had paid my bill there and taken care of my expenses I didn't have anything left and there was nothing to do evenings and weekends. So this other parolee said he had a place and was having a hard time making it. How about my coming in with him and we would do odd jobs together, cut lawns and stuff like that. So I did. I quit my job—I was doing three men's work for the pay of one, more labor than clerical work—I just told my employer, what kind of a boss was he? He could take his old job. But then odd jobs didn't pay so well, and we got to drinking and bumming around. So, of course, parole got revoked.

When Carl was recommitted to the reformatory he decided it was up to him now or he would spend the rest of his life in institutions. He hopes he has built up a momentum in taking responsibility for himself that will carry over into his life on parole.

Carl's new sense of being able to take hold of a goal and work toward it is revealed in what sounds like a well-worked-out plan for parole. He will live with his next-older sister who works steadily, is divorced, and has an apartment with room for him. He has been with this sister more consistently than with any other family member and reports:

> She isn't a nag and won't be hanging over me all the time—don't do this and do the other. I understand what she does and she understands what I do and we have always gotten along together, liking to talk about the same things. She has found a car-wash job for me to go out to. But right away I will go to the Civil Service office and take the General Educational test and file for all the

> available Civil Service examinations. My sister had the man in charge of the office write to me, and he is ready to help me get on any lists I qualify for. I'm going to start night school right away so I can finish my high school education. Weekends I'm going to spend with some little theatre. I'll find something to do with them. That was what I was doing every time I went AWOL from the Navy—working with little theatre groups.

His ultimate work goal is to secure some sort of stable clerical position.

> If I'm going to make it this time I have to keep up the momentum I've got started here. Work, night school, and little theatre. Night school right away—not later when I've lost the drive. I'm going to carry the way I've organized my life in here right out there from the first. I know I'm setting myself a heavy schedule and I'm going to find it hard to keep it up—me, what I like is to be out having a ball all the time—but this way I'll be obligated already and my time will be filled with constructive things to do, so it won't be quite so easy to goof off.

MORAL ORIENTATIONS

At no time has Carl identified himself as a criminal. All his troubles with the law and other authorities seem to have stemmed from a quick temper that easily explodes into physical action, a gregarious searching for companionship in a rootless world, and a false sense of security in his ability to get away with anything because people like him and he can put on a front.

Carl lived in various institutions most of his early life until he was age ten. The last three years of this period he spent on the East Coast in an orphanage called the Farm. For the first time in his life Carl felt he was doing well, although he also remembers that he was often punished for getting into fights.

> Anything that is good in me comes from that orphanage. You tell people you have lived in an orphanage and they think how terrible. I have lived in a couple of pretty bad institutions, big, barren buildings, dormitories, you know what people think of when you say orphanage. But the Farm was nice. A girls' farm and a boys' farm and a big church in the middle of the park and a school. We all lived in cottages, twelve to a cottage with a house mother. Everybody had his chores to do, even the littlest, and as you got older you learned to take on more responsibilities. That's the way to bring up children, have everyone do his part.

When Carl was ten years old, his mother married his first stepfather and brought Carl and his two sisters to live with them out west. It was at this point that Carl became a chronic runaway.

> I felt my people just didn't care. The school would call up my mother and she would say, "You take care of him. That's your business." I would come in late at night and find the door locked. I'd knock and someone would let me in. I would say, "What's this? Why is the door locked?" My mother would say, "So you're home, go to bed." Like she didn't even notice I had been out late. When I tried to talk to her about problems, she would say, "You figure it out." So I started to run away. I'd stay for two weeks over at a friend's house and my stepfather and mother didn't even seem to notice I was gone. Finally I and a couple

> of other boys ran away to another state, and were held in the County Jail for ten days. Then my mother and stepfather came up for me and that's when I got ready to straighten out. I thought, maybe they do care, they came all this way to get me. But when we got home, my mother said, "All right, now go find yourself some place to live. You can't stay here." I asked why she had bothered to come all that way to get me if I couldn't stay at home, and she said the authorities had made her get me. I was on probation at that time for runaway and truancy. The probation officer asked me if I could think of any people who would take me in so he wouldn't have to put me in detention, so I asked about the people where I used to stay with my friend. They took me in, and I stayed with them for about a year when I was fifteen—sixteen. I couldn't understand it then, but they sure went all out for the discipline. They really overdid it, and before you know it that boy and I were mortal enemies. What I think happened was that the people were afraid I was a real hoodlum and had been doing all sorts of bad things. The probation officer didn't tell them anything, just that I was in some trouble. So they figured they really had to bear down.

I asked Carl if he had committed serious delinquencies such as stealing. At first Carl said no; then he began to remember the activities of the gang to which he belonged in his early teens. They were a group of younger boys with a name and leather jackets.

> We were all the same, nobody had families. We thought we were tough with our bicycle chains and can openers. We would challenge some bigger guys. I guess they must have thought we were crazy because we were so little, because off they would run and we would feel real big. We fixed the door to the janitor's closet in the school once so we could get in and out but still leave the door looking as though it were locked. We used to go in at night or on weekends and steal a few coke bottles at a time. Everybody knew somebody was getting at the cokes but they couldn't figure out how. Once we vandalized the school. We went all through it looking for our grade books so we could change our grades. But we couldn't find them so we threw everything around and sure made a mess.

Apparently Carl was not identified by the police for stealing, although two older boys were caught when they wanted to give a party and cleaned out the whole closet, taking several cases of cokes. Carl remembers that his gang did a little pilfering, like picking up things from glove compartments in cars, but no systematic robbing. When the relationship in his foster home became too tense and the foster parents asked that Carl be removed, the Court faced Carl with three alternatives: either go home and finish school; or join a military service; or be sent to a correctional school.

> They didn't realize it, but I was ready to straighten up and make something of myself. I wanted to go home and settle down at school. I was getting into a good crowd. I had joined the dramatics club at school and really enjoyed it. I played the aristocrat in Charley's Aunt and afterwards all the girls wanted my autograph. But my mother said she wouldn't take me home, so I joined the Navy.

Early in boot camp Carl was in trouble with authority. He was sloppy in drill and was called up in front of the company for a dressing down. Typically Carl hammed his role as he was put through the exercise and cussed back when the Company Commander bawled him out. Although he was punished for this episode, he was soon made a squad leader and recommended for special training.

The rest of Carl's military history follows the pattern of repeated chances to make good, each lost because of Carl's irresponsibility. He was never in the brig; rather he was transferred from spot to spot, apparently in the hope that he would straighten up. On his first trip overseas he was unassigned for such a long period that he began to treat military life as "one long spell of liberty." When he was returned to the United States he went AWOL for a short period. Once again overseas, he blundered into a black-market crowd when he was illegally off base. He was never formally charged with this offense but was returned once again to the States for a training program. By this time he was thumbing his nose at all the rules and overstayed his leave in his home town "to see the boys."

There he met some friends who had liquor (which he didn't know was stolen) and they went into an empty house to drink it. Picked up by the police, Carl took the rap for the others.

> I figured the Navy would get me out of it, and so I didn't have anything to lose. I'd never been in that kind of a situation before, so when the police said, "Look, we want to clear our books. You help us and we'll help you," all buddy-buddy like, I said, "Sure I did that robbery, yes, that was my job," being the wise guy. When I got to court, they said, "Look, we'll send you up just for the one breaking and entering, not for the others since you helped us clear our books." The Navy didn't want me back, so off to the reformatory I came.

In the reformatory Carl was admittedly a bad actor, chiefly in his complete rebellion against the rigid authority to which he was exposed. As we have already seen he did not do well after his first short period on parole. His parole was revoked on a charge of armed robbery and about this episode Carl is still very much upset. According to him, an older brother of a parolee friend named Carl as his accomplice. This time Carl refused to plead guilty, and after he was recommitted to the reformatory appealed his case. The appeal was granted on the basis of procedural errors and a public defender was assigned. After investigation the lawyer advised Carl against pursuing the appeal, reporting that there was not enough evidence to prove Carl's innocence and that if Carl was declared guilty at the retrial, he might be subject to a much more severe sentence that he is now serving as a revoked parolee. As a result, Carl put aside his desire to revenge himself on the man who had named him as accomplice. "I was getting a lot out of the program in C Unit, so I figured I had too much to lose."

As Carl was recounting his earlier difficulties he got into the spirit of story-telling and played his former self as the irresponsible fool and insolent brat to the hilt. But about this final charge his real feelings were unmistakable and on the surface.

> I really don't want to talk about it. See, I laugh about these damn fool things I've done to mess up my life, but that is a front. Now looking back over it, I'm getting angry and upset inside of myself. I try not to let myself think about these things. They're in the past and I can't change them now. So I keep my mind occupied by working at what I can do different, now and in the future.

Carl has a clear inner test for right and wrong. "I figure so long as I don't feel guilty for anything I'm not doing anything wrong. I must be doing all right if I'm not feeling guilty about it." I asked if this inner code permitted him to feel all right about things that were forbidden by law. He didn't think his code was different from what was legal except maybe in things like laws against possessing drugs. He hasn't wanted to use them himself, but he figures it shouldn't be made a crime to have them. He has tried to be careful about drinking because his father drank and his mother keeps saying he is just like his father. Earlier in his life, he and his sister were very devout Catholics. "We couldn't get enough of it. Down on our knees every night saying a hundred Hail Marys. But now, I wouldn't say I'm not religious. There are just some things I can't accept as fact. But I have my own version of religion. I go to church some of the time and think my own thoughts." Since he has been in the reformatory this time, he has assumed responsibility for doing something about his weaknesses, his bad temper, his irresponsibility, and his tendency to "overdo." It is these weaknesses that make him feel guilty now.

FAMILY ROLE

Carl has a confused memory of many placements as a small child, and he is no longer quite sure about the sequence, except that the Farm was the last institution before he came to his mother's home in the West at age ten. He first remembers that he and his two older sisters were living with his father. He doesn't know why his mother and father split up or why the three children remained with his father. He can't remember his father when he wasn't drunk and beating him, "except one time, and then he got me drunk. I was about five, and I had fallen under the ice on the creek. He was switching me to get me warm because I was so cold I couldn't move. I thought he was beating me so I began to cry. So he picked me up and carried me in the house and poured some brandy down me to get me warmed up." There were at least two institutional placements before he and his sisters finally went to the Farm.

Throughout his life Carl seems to have been taking on substitute parents wherever he could find them. "At the Farm we called the house mother 'Mom' because all of us were orphans or at least away from our parents." "I used to think the people who were later my foster parents were like a real mom and dad to me. I liked to stay there better than at my home."

Carl's sisters have done well. The oldest one is married to a service manager in some company and has two children; the one with whom he is to live has been divorced, but she works at a good secretarial job. They seem to have related well with his mother and his two stepfathers. Carl can't remember what happened to the first stepfather; "He just stopped coming around." Later his mother asked him, "What do you think of Joe?" Carl said, "Joe who?" His mother answered, "He's the friend I have been going out with. How would you like to have him for a father?" "So I said, 'Oh, sure, fine.' I didn't even know the guy, but it was all right with me."

Carl is most bothered by his mother's identification of him with his father. "She is always saying, 'You're just like your father' whenever I do anything bad. I've looked at his picture but we don't even look alike except that he is long and lanky like I am. I ask her to tell me something good about him, but she never will." Carl has a vague sense of having been destined to be a bad actor by this identification of himself with a man who drank too much and had a bad temper, although he also keeps feeling that there must have been something good as well as bad about his father in the earlier days before Carl knew him.

ROLE WITH PEERS

Carl is eagerly gregarious and a natural leader. In the teen-age gang "I was one of the leaders. The real leader was an older boy, about sixteen. He was the one with the ideas, but when he wanted to do something, the others would look at me to see what I said. If I went along, then all the others would too. Sort of the lieutenant, I'd say." In the Navy "They figured I would straighten out if they made me squad leader, and it seemed to work." In C Unit, Carl has taken a great deal of initiative. At first he didn't have much to do with program. "I was bitter and unhappy about the bum beef[6] and pretty much occupied with my own thoughts. Then after I got on honor status I got into some interest groups. That got me started. I decided to make use of every bit of program I could get into." At this point, having observed a deterioration in the Unit culture, Carl has organized his own leadership group in an effort to reverse the trend toward apathy.

Carl has an unusual ability to sense and describe the culture existing among his peers.

> There are some things the staff has misconceptions about. For one thing, they think there is no race prejudice on the Unit. There is just as much racial feeling on C Unit as there is on other units—the only thing different is that C Unit inmates don't act on it the way they do on other units. [I asked why that would be so.] There are three reasons. One is the inmates have the feeling that they are being watched more. I don't think that is necessarily so, but it's the way they feel. Another is that there are enough guys who either want to keep clean time or like me, who want to get something out of program, so we see to it that we don't get into a mess and lose what we do have. And finally, nobody in C Unit can depend on others getting into a race fight with him. In other units, if one white guy and one Negro fight, they have the whole crowd in with them. This won't happen in C Unit.
>
> Another thing, the staff doesn't realize how strong the inmate code still is on C Unit. Now it is somewhat better on C Unit than on other units—like I'm here now, talking to you, a comparative stranger, about race feelings on C Unit. In any other unit, if a staff member asked an inmate about race trouble the inmate would say, "No, none of that stuff. Everything's fine." But here I am, telling you. However, I couldn't say it in a group. A lot of inmates have asked me to bring it up in the Council, but I know if I did it would upset the group. Then it would get down on the Unit and there would be a real hassle—I might find myself tossed over the third tier railings for being a snitch.

Carl went on to tell about the changes in inmate morale he has observed since he has been in C Unit. His report is almost identical with the pattern shown by the research data when the indexes are graphed.

> When I first came on the Unit, it didn't seem that much was going on, though this may have been me rather than the program. I just hadn't got into it. But two counselors were leaving and the Fall interest group program hadn't started yet. Then, I don't know, maybe it was me just getting into things, but up until the Christmas Open House everything was going up. There was always something interesting to look forward to. After that it leveled off, kind of dwindled.

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[6] Beef: Offense for which he is presently committed.

> This last two months it's taken a big swoop down. Everyone bored and touchy, everybody thinking it's nothing but a big shuck,[7] nobody caring. We even had eighteen write-ups[8] by the middle of the month, the worst discipline record yet. I think one of the things that happened was a lot of the steadier old timers went out on parole, and we got these gunsels in too fast to train them.

Carl has an uneasy sense that his drive for leadership and rational organization may irritate some of his peers—"I have to watch it or I overdo it." This perception about himself is corroborated by his counselor who reports, "Some of the inmates complain because Carl talks too much and pushes for action before others are ready." There is evidence that in the reformatory Carl's ability and interests have been considerably superior to those of many of his peers and that he consequently lacks the external discipline of real competition. For instance, he has won two major awards in the institution's public speaking club, whose members are selected from among the outstanding individuals in the entire population of the reformatory.

ROLE WITH OFFICIALS

Carl feels he has always been liked by officials and that he has often been given breaks that he didn't deserve because of this fact. In school and in the Navy he slipped into counting on the willingness of authority figures to overlook many things because of their belief in his ability and response to his "front." At the same time, he has always been "in revolt against authority" and his two-year career in the reformatory before he was first paroled gives evidence of this. Apparently most of his difficulties during that first commitment involved disobeying orders, disrespect, and even violence toward officers. Now "I do what they tell me to before they tell me. I hate to be told what to do, and this way I obey orders without getting my temper up." He has particular loyalty to adults who can teach him, challenge him, and, at the same time, provide the disciplined structure necessary for accomplishment. He is sensitively critical of authority persons who seem inadequate or unperceptive. But, in C Unit at least, he is learning to channel his irritation toward malfunctioning authority into more constructive kinds of behavior than random attack.

OPPORTUNITY SYSTEM EXPERIENCES

The basic socializing process to which Carl was exposed as a child consisted of bits and pieces of experience under the guidance of many different adults, some of whom Carl tried to fit into the missing parental roles. The community organizations responsible for Carl's later socializing experiences have obviously attempted to train and reward his evident ability although they have not been able to make up for the inadequacies of his earlier training. The school kept him through the eleventh grade and was willing to have him continue. The law enforcement agencies in his home town used probation, foster homes, and other methods to keep him out of the correctional system. The Navy tried him in several different programs. In each system, Carl seems to have been responded to by individuals who saw his potentialities, although no system seems to have provided a consistent structure that could hold Carl to the task of responsible self-organization.

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[7] Shuck: In this context, staff using big words that don't mean anything to fool inmates into cooperation.

[8] Write-up: A written report of behavior requiring disciplinary action.

In this process Carl has repeatedly responded temporarily to opportunities but then lapsed into his careless ways, perceiving relaxation of outer pressures as permission to see what he could get away with. As Carl found the vulnerable spots in each system, he has produced situations in which there was nothing to do but dismiss him. Carl's behavior in C Unit evidences what he can do when there is consistent pressure to perform coupled with relatively rich resources for achievement. It remains to be seen whether his present "momentum" can continue in the open community where this kind of opportunity for focused guidance, accomplishment, and reward will inevitably be more limited.

RESPONSE TO STRESS

Lack of attention from others, lack of opportunities to achieve, and arbitrary authority all produce great stress in Carl. His reaction to stress has always been to act out, often in direct conflict with authorities. He is beginning to develop some patterns for cooperative action in the resolution of stressful situations.

RESPONSE TO HELP

Carl responds eagerly to help when it is focused on a common task, helping him to learn and opening opportunities for achievement. He has not used counseling services as such because "My counselor is very busy."

> Besides, I thought I could figure things out for myself, and I think I can. I can talk about them with you and if I can talk about them, then I really know what has been wrong and what I have to do about it. Besides, there is pride, you know. You don't like to snivel[9] if you can handle things on your own.

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[9] Snivel: Contemptuous term referring to an inmate telling his troubles to a staff member in order to get special handling and make things easier for himself.

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ONE–HOUR INTERVIEW

RAMON

RAMON is a stocky, pleasant Mexican youth, age nineteen, who is in the institution as a parole violator. His attitude toward the interview seemed typical of all his reactions, relaxed, passive, quietly friendly. He talked very softly, Mexican style, blurring his words a bit and with little inflection. As he became more spontaneous, he settled into a rhythmic report of everyday details which had the flavor of housewives' chat over the back fence. It was as though he observed life with mild, peasant-like humor, neither particularly stimulated by experience nor expecting much from it, satisfied to drift along with whatever happened.

PERCEPTION OF SOCIAL WORLD

Ramon perceives the concrete details of social interaction within a very simple framework. He seems relatively undiscriminating between pleasant and unpleasant life experiences, withdrawing with minimal irritation if an experience doesn't please him, accepting what is pleasant without excitement. It is all life, to be experienced without effort to analyze its components and with no drive to make it over.

For instance, he could at first report no difference between a former institution and the reformatory, but later said it was easier to do your time here because you have a key to your room and can move about more freely to your living unit or to the yard. Again, he at first saw no changes in C Unit since he has been in it, but with probing spoke of the fact that during the holidays the inmates had seemed more tense perhaps because it was Christmas and they felt worse then about being in an institution.[1] Recently he has noticed more difficulty among C Unit inmates than when he first came into the unit, "each man looking with mean eyes at the other" because some gunsels[2] have come in recently and there is TV trouble.

> These inmates who want rock and roll and cartoons get all their friends together to come in and vote against those of us who want sports. When they win the vote they clap and yell like thirteen-year-olds. Then most of them

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[1] These questions are more critical indicators of social perception than would appear on the surface. C Unit had recently undergone basic structural changes observed with concern by more sophisticated inmates. The reformatory where Ramon is now located is oriented toward adults and in many ways is less repressive than the Youth institutions where he had previously been committed.

[2] Gunsel: "Little gun." Inmate term for young tough who dramatizes his loyalty to criminality and generally causes trouble both for inmates outside his own gang and for officials.

> leave and there are only six or so who really want to see the cartoons. A lot of the older guys want sports the way I do, but one man wants to see one baseball club play and another wants to see another. We don't go in to vote just to help each other out.

Losing the TV vote doesn't bother him. "If I lose, I lose, so I just go to my room and listen to the baseball game on my radio. It will all settle down in a month or two, it always does." His framework seems to provide for an expectable interchange between good and bad, pleasant and unpleasant as the days go by, but does not provide for shaded areas or for perceiving subtle changes over time. Events are perceived discretely with mild enjoyment of the oddities but without curiosity about continuities or causal relationships.

I remember particularly two of Ramon's comments when I try to understand this unreflective, nonrebellious stance toward life. The first was his atypical reaction to the fact that he has had his Board date[3] postponed until October, at which time it will be determined whether he gets parole. When I commented that this must seem a long time to wait, Ramon answered, "No, I know I will get out some time," evidencing none of the usual "short-time syndrome" so characteristic of inmates whose parole date is in sight but uncertain. He says he has never done "hard time"; so long as he is in here he must stay here, but the time will end. He does not like institutional life but does not suffer under it. There is a kind of fatalism in his attitude that allows him to postpone desired goals without worry and find ways to live through any experience with a minimum of disturbance within himself. Thus time in the former institution and time in the reformatory is essentially the same because he brings to each the same "what will be, will be" attitude.

The second useful comment concerned his relationship with his mother. He is one of three children by his mother's second marriage and has several older half-siblings from her first marriage. According to him, none of the other children talk with his mother about problems—"They decide for themselves, go their own way." In contrast, "I tell her my problems and she tells me hers. We talk about everything. She is sick a lot." He communicates an image of lengthy conversations, one picking up where the last left off, with the unacculturated, older Mexican woman, that fall into a ritual of plaint and comment sprinkled with religious and folk sayings, together with humorous uninhibited peasant observations of behavior. When Ramon speaks of his activities on the Unit, he refers most often to this kind of "talking with my friends." Life for Ramon seems to be one long conversation flowing gently on like a stream that carries him where he knows not but provides him with interest by the changing scene to be observed as he passes by.

SELF-IMAGE

Ramon has a very clear sense of an unalterable self. Institutions can do nothing to or for a man.

> A man has to help himself, no one can decide for me if I am going to do right or wrong. It is what I do when I get out that decides. I have decided to do right so I will not be coming back.

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[3] Board date: Appointment with parole board when date for release on parole is determined. In Ramon's case postponement was related to the seriousness of the alleged offense.

But this self seems made up of simplified, almost archetypical roles like "the good son."

> My older brother got married last month so there is no one home to take care of my mother. Now it is I who must work and help her. I am not one to run around and get into trouble when I am working. Marriage? That is a long way off. I must first learn to take care of myself and my mother.

Perhaps in a more simple society where performance of the basic roles was uncomplicated by social disorganization and where occasional "excitements" were provided by festivals and holidays, Ramon would have been a steady reliable performer rather than a delinquent.

When Ramon asserts a position he does so with clarity, marked lack of anxiety, and with no concern about who may differ. The action of officials at the time he was put on probation was "unfair" and he knows why he feels this to be so. However, the action concerning the offense for which he was sent to the former institution was fair, although he did not actually take part in the assault with which he is legally charged. Again he knows why he takes this stand. This last time when his parole was revoked, he was "glad they stopped me. With no job I was fooling around and could have got into bad trouble."

In the same uncomplicated fashion, Ramon clearly thinks of himself as Mexican and as differentiated from "whites." He neither tries to be like others nor does he see the races as opposed. "I do not pick my friends by race. If I like an individual I talk with him." And later, when asked about girl friends, "I have had three steady girls, one Mexican and two white."

Just as "what will be, will be," so Ramon presents himself to the world as who he is, unalterable except by himself, without anxiety about why he is like he is or striving to be like other more fortunate folk.

MORAL ORIENTATIONS

Ramon is clear about what is right and what is wrong. Good behavior is for him simply a matter of deciding to do right. This is easy to do once a man has decided.

His first difficulty with the law came about when he and two other Mexican friends, at about age fourteen, were working in a tomato field.

> Two white boys kept riding up the road and then back again calling us "wetbacks" and other names. Back and forth, on their shiny new bicycles. They had no right to do that. We were working and minding our own business. Anybody would have been mad. So we beat them up. They told their parents, and we were put in the Juvenile Home. The judge gave us six months probation. That was unfair. I do not think the judge should have done that. We were working and minding our own business.

His second offense was quite different. His older half-brother was sick and out of the home, so Ramon quit school to work and support his mother and smaller siblings. Then he was laid off but did not go back to school. With too much time on his hands, Ramon made friends with other unemployed youths, hanging around town stealing cars, and doing some drinking. One night he went to a party. There was no drinking there, but he and others were invited to go out on the town by a twenty-one-year-old who had beer and wine in his car. There was a twenty-one-year-old, an eighteen-year-old, a seventeen-year-old, Ramon who was fifteen, and a thirteen-year-old boy in the group. Apparently all of them got drunk. A hitch hiker was picked up as the car was headed out of town and the two younger boys were asked if they wanted to go along or preferred to be taken back home. They chose to go along. Somewhere down the highway the hitchhiker was beaten and robbed and left without clothes beside the road. During this time the two younger boys were asleep in the car, not waking up until they got home about six in the morning. All five boys were committed for robbery and assault.

I commented that this must have seemed unfair to Ramon, since he had not participated in the crime. “No, that was fair because I had my chance to go home and decided not to. So I was with them when it happened.” When I asked why he went along on activities that could get him into trouble, Ramon answered, “It was the excitement. It was not really fun while it happened although people say it is fun. I was scared that I would be caught. It was more like wanting to know what these things are like that you hear about.”

The final delinquent episode—resulting in revocation of parole—was again the result of a lost job, too much time on his hands, unemployed companions, and drinking.

> When I am working I do not get into trouble. Go to work; come home, watch TV, and go to bed. But when there is nothing to do I fool around, go to somebody's house, drink some beer, look for an excitement like stealing a car, stripping the parts and so get some money. These boys were not hoodlums, they have not been in much trouble, but we had nothing to do and needed some money. This time I was the oldest, but we all got the ideas together....I am glad that they stopped me and sent me back. I might have gotten into bad trouble. Now I have decided to do right. I will not be back here.

I asked if his interest in experiencing things he had heard about as fun had led him into experimentation with drugs.

> No, I have heard that it is fun and sometimes I think I will try and see what it is like. But I do not know whether it is habit-forming for me or not. Some say it is, others that it depends on you. So I do not try it.

FAMILY ROLE

A child of his mother's second marriage, Ramon has grown up as a younger son in a stable Mexican home located in a growing industrial city surrounded by a rich agricultural area. His older half-brothers have been the male figures in his life, since apparently both families have been close and centered around the mother. The father drank and was out of the home most of the time. Ramon remembers him as very severe, “Saying don't do that” and occasionally visiting in the home “To see my younger brother.” This last week the father visited Ramon in the institution along with the mother and a brother-in-law, who is arranging a construction job for Ramon when he goes out on parole. “My father was changed from what I remembered him. He did not say I was a bad boy and look what bad things I did. He was more quiet and hoping things would be good for me.”

None of the other siblings has been in trouble with the law. The older brothers and brothers-in-law have all been employed steadily in various kinds of industrial work and have shared responsibility for the mother and younger children. There has been a saying in the family that "this Ramon is the black sheep" and the sisters have tended to blame him for the mother's illnesses.

> But I do not know. Once she was in the hospital for six months because of her kidney trouble. I do not think that just my bad actions caused all this.

Apparently more than one of the older males in this extended family have been engaged in planning for Ramon's parole. One half-brother is expecting to pay his fee for membership in the construction workers' union. Another has looked into machine shop training at the local Junior College night school. A brother-in-law has located a job for him. Now that Ramon is to be the oldest man at home, it seems to be taken for granted that he will step into the role of "provider for mother" previously assumed by his older brothers. He is comfortably accepting their help in arranging this adult-in-training role for which there are already patterns in his family and its Mexican traditions.

ROLE WITH PEERS

Ramon seems to move easily in a variety of group associations to which he looks for gregarious satisfactions rather than for organizational activity. He has had little interest in group activities in either the C Unit program or the institution at large, preferring a collection of friends who engage in talk. He seeks out older, more quiet men to talk with rather than those who "tell what they did when they were younger, this robbery or that excitement." He did belong to the Mexican interest group where they learned to give speeches and to make employment applications. "I think I learned something from that, how to express myself and not be so nervous." But mostly he enjoys being with men who will discuss "world events, things I have not thought about, like out of Time." This interest seems to be a part of the sober new role of "man among men," appropriate for one who will be "oldest son at home taking care of mother" when he goes out on parole.

He anticipates no difficulty in staying away from trouble-making companions on the outside.

> Some may come by the house to see me and I will talk. But I have friends who have not been in much trouble, who are not hoodlums. And if they suggest "do this, do that," I do not have to go with them.

Such doings seem to him now to be part of the child-role he is putting behind him, belonging to the stage of experimentation "to see what it is like to do these things."

ROLE WITH OFFICIALS

Ramon has never had trouble with officials, apparently either in school or in any of his institutional placements. "I do what they tell me and there is no trouble." Because he is so quiet and conforming, I have the feeling that he may have been lost sight of in the reformatory and has not been provided the opportunity to develop vocational skills. He has continued in school and is in the eleventh grade, but has received no trade training. Instead he has been used on work crews, where he gets good grades for performance.

OPPORTUNITY SYSTEM EXPERIENCES

Ramon has been brought up as a younger child in a home that is organized around an older mother and supported by numerous older siblings. The older family members seem well integrated into the industrial community as workmen, although Ramon's work experiences have been, so far, in agriculture and other unskilled labor. Until illness in the family necessitated his leaving school, he attended regularly and did well enough to be continued further than many Mexican children manage to get. He apparently likes school and does relatively well. His ambitions are focused on the immediate tasks of getting a job and entering trade training. In this planning he is supported by several young men relatives who have contacts and experience.

REACTION TO STRESS

Apparently very few experiences are stressful for Ramon. Rather he accommodates comfortably and so lives through most experiences within a limited range of reactions, cooperatively rather than conflictually. He neither expects a great deal from life nor strives for a great deal and so does not suffer from frustration, although he has decided his foolish behavior has cost more time than it was worth. "I might be graduated from high school now."

RESPONSE TO HELP

When an opportunity that fits within his own pattern comes his way, Ramon makes use of it, but he does not seek help or believe that anyone can influence him in relation to problem solving.

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ONE & ONE HALF–HOUR INTERVIEW

WALLY

WALLY (age twenty-two) is a tall, lean, angular man who talks rapidly with much gesturing and grinning, although his story is uniformly sad. He is a diagnosed schizophrenic. Although he jumps from one story to another he is able to maintain a chronological sequence and to give consistent reports about the length of time he spent in each of his many placements as well as his age at the time of each change. Although he is twenty-two years old at this point, he looks more like a worn thirty-two. In spite of this look of age, he acts like a lost little boy and I responded accordingly. He seemed to welcome my quiet protective response.

Wally had many repeated mannerisms; e.g., he would end almost every story with a dismissing "Shoo-oo," then shake his head three times as though in wonderment and nod three times soberly as though to say "It was true in spite of its impossibility." He frequently exclaimed "Gee whillikers" or "Gee whiskers" as though he were protesting an expected comment that his reactions to events were distorted and assuring me that "Anybody would have felt that way, wouldn't they?"

PERCEPTION OF SOCIAL WORLD

Wally perceives all other people as operating in a world that has no place for him. This world is almost uniformly cold, unkind, and uninterpretable. It just happens without rhyme or reason. When this world of others impinges on Wally it either ignores his needs, makes him a butt of jokes, or is actively cruel. Nobody likes him or wants him and it is evident he has no idea about what goes on among people in more normal interrelatedness. Actions taken about him by authorities seem to him to have no consistent rationale. They come out of the blue and usually move him about on some vast checkerboard without explanation or response to his pleas.

The only persons whom Wally remembers as kind are his grandmother, with whom he lived for four months (he was taken to her funeral in handcuffs from a detention home), and a sociologist attached to his living unit of ten in an institution for defectives.

Even these attachments to people seem tenuous compared with Wally's affection for Sam, a wire-haired terrier. "We went everywhere together. They said no dogs in the movie, I said this dog goes everywhere with me. In he would go, sitting up beside me and watching the movie. Same way swimming, in he would go with me. We went fishing mostly." This dog had to be given away to a "foster home" because "they sent me home and my stepfather didn't like dogs." There was another dog later and a parakeet that he was allowed to have in the institution for the criminally insane.

> I was the only inmate permitted to have a parakeet. I used to take him into the yard and he would catch sparrows. Then I would sell the sparrows

> to the other inmates. I couldn't bring my parakeet with me when they sent me to the reformatory. Once when I was here I found a tiny little kitten out by the warehouse. I fed it on bread and powdered milk. I tested the milk with my elbow to see if it was warm enough—I see them doing that on TV so I guess it is the way to tell—and it grew until it was three months old. Then I gave it to one of the officers who took it to a little boy.

His one suggestion about making C Unit better was to let him have a bird, or maybe a bird and a dog. He spoke of Sam the terrier as "the best friend I ever had." Only in the world of animals does Wally seem to feel secure.

SELF-IMAGE

Wally sees himself as lone and unwanted and with something wrong with him. The only link he makes between these two propositions is that somewhere in his shifting, disorganized life there came a point where "Ping, my main spring went." According to Wally, this break occurred when they took him away from his grandmother and sent him back to his mother's home.

There are repeated stories of not being wanted by anyone. The children at school didn't want to play with him and made fun of him. "My clothes were always dirty and ragged." His various stepfathers did not want him around and refused to have his dog. When he was forced to live with his father, he was unmercifully beaten. He ran away from home first at the age of five because nobody wanted him and he was so unhappy. He goes with younger crime partners because "I don't want to rob, but I think I have to, to keep them liking me. I don't want them to call me chicken." In the institution the inmates don't seem to want to have anything to do with him except one "friend," "who says he is going to psychoanalyze me." Evidently this inmate keeps Wally continuously upset by telling him that people are looking at him in the corridor—"Then I go back to my room and stay there worrying, did that inmate look at me, what was he thinking"—and filling him full of suspicious ideas about interviews with staff.

> He kept at me all yesterday because I got a ducat[1] from you. "See, she thinks something is wrong with you, she'll find out that you are psycho and tell the Board," so I worried and worried. I know he will be on me when I get back to the Unit. "What did she say? See, I told you she was going to find out about you." Then I will worry some more.

When I asked why he bothered talking to this inmate, Wally answered, "He says he is going to give me a free psychoanalysis. Maybe he can help me." Apparently any attention, even when cruel and painful, is preferable to the total isolation that Wally otherwise experiences.

Wally observes many of his own symptoms and worries about them.

> I will go into my room and get started doing something over and over and I can't stop. That worries me, I can't stop. It goes on for hours and hours, maybe three hours. Like I will tap my feet, one, two, one, two, up to ten and then all over again. Or I take a circle of dots and go around saying "Yes, dot, yes, dot," then all around again and again. Then I put in one more dot and it goes "Yes, dot,

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[1] Ducat: Written pass to some official program assignment or interview.

> yes, dot, yes, of course, dot" [for the added one] around and around, maybe for three hours. . . . .
>
> I like to read, but the thing is I can't remember what I have read afterwards. I go through big books, like Dickens. The lives those children led, gee whillikers, mine is nothing to theirs. I'm a grown man but I cry, especially about Dombey and Son. But then I can't remember the people's names....
>
> I used to be smart, but something happened to me. I was sent here to learn a trade, but like printing, I liked that, but I can't remember where to put periods and commas. I'm just not smart enough to learn a trade. So now I'm in the mattress factory. You just set the buttons and the machine goes whish. It's about all I'm smart enough for, I guess. Shoo-oo!" [three shakes of the head—three nods].

MORAL ORIENTATIONS

Wally remembers many runaways beginning when he was five. "I was down at the station and there was the conductor. I ran up to him and said, 'Help me on, my mother is in that car.' So he did. Next thing I knew we were up in another state and was I hungry." He describes his home as filled with people who were perpetually drunk (he can give only their first names and does not think they were related).

> There would be no place to sleep. They would lie down on any bed around. Somebody would be on my bed, or a lot of vomit. Shoo-oo! Nobody cooking any meals or everything all burnt. I learned to cook oatmeal good—oatmeal three times a day. So I figured how to eat. I would go by some boy's house and he was having breakfast and his mother would feed me too. Then I would go off to one school where a boy had an extra sandwich and get that. Then off to another school for a free lunch.

In the institution for defectives he escaped. "I didn't run away or nothing. I just went out in the woods and lay in the sunshine, all by myself—no noise, no people."

On his junkets around, Wally has taken cars because "It felt so good behind the wheel. Big car, down the hill. Whoosh." When he was at his grandmother's home, he and another boy would jump railroad trains and ride into a neighboring city where they could sneak into a low-class movie house and sit through the day until late at night, when they would return once again by jumping the freight.

His more criminal acts such as burglary seem to have been performed at the suggestion of a younger partner with Wally going along because he was afraid of being called chicken. He shows no real concern about right or wrong. Each act has been a natural response to satisfying a need or escaping some unpleasantness. He thinks he will avoid this kind of trouble when he gets out on parole by living away from the area where he will meet his former crime partner. "If I ever get parole. Maybe they will just keep me because I am psycho."

FAMILY ROLE

Wally presents himself as almost frantically trying to get officials to place him somewhere else other than his home. He remembers his father beating his mother and himself savagely, "She had to have nine stitches in her head." He is not sure when his father left the home and "I've had so many stepfathers I can't remember them all." He speaks by first name of many persons, unrelated to his family, who lived off and on in his mother's house, getting drunk every evening.

Wally's mother switched between spells of alcoholism and periods of intense religious activity when

> I had to go to church every night and all day on weekends. My mother would never let me bring my friends home because I had to play just with the children in the church, and they didn't like me. But there was one birthday party, she said I could invite my friends and everybody would leave the house just for me and my friends. Then I heard she was going to put on a psalm-singing contest. At my birthday party! So I went around to all the kids at school and told them—don't come to my birthday party unless you want to sing psalms. My friends all stayed away and there was just the church kids, singing hymns. Gee whillikers, my birthday party! Shoo-oo.

Wally was never sure which stage his mother would be in when he was returned from a stay with his father or a period in detention.

> I kept telling them they should of put me someplace else, but back they would take me. There was one good time, when I stayed with my grandmother. She was fun. That's when I had Sam and we went fishing, took the freight to the movie. But that was just four months. My grandmother had a party for all the relatives and of course everyone got drunk a little bit—me too—after all it was a party—so the police came and took me to the detention home. My grandmother died while I was there and they took me to her funeral in handcuffs. Then back I had to go to my mother's. My stepfather was allergic to dogs so I had to find another home for Sam. Shoo-oo.

Wally has been in several foster homes, at least one institution for delinquent boys, an institution for defective and disturbed individuals, and an institution for the criminally insane. He remembers being in the institution for delinquents at least two years until he got too big for the younger boys ordinarily sent there. From there he was returned to his mother, who was in a religious stage. Since then he has been out on several paroles, each time involved in more serious trouble, and then sent on to another institutional placement.

His mother visits him in the institution, always bringing him religious tracts and telling him what he can or mustn't buy with the money she leaves for him. He does not want to go home on parole because he sees his home and all that surrounds it as the source of his trouble.

ROLE WITH PEERS

Wally feels that no one likes him and tends to isolate himself. He is often the victim of cruel teasing by younger inmates who can easily stir up his suspicions of anyone—"Why is that man looking at me in the corridor?" He is sure he is seen as queer by other inmates. Outside the institution he tags along on criminal expeditions in order not to be ignored.

ROLE WITH OFFICIALS

Wally is intensely suspicious of outside officials—parole officers who have hounded him, welfare people who kept putting him in places where he didn't want to live. He remembers the sociologist at the institution for defectives as pleasant. "He played games with us." In the reformatory several teachers and work instructors have had hopes for Wally because he apparently has a normal IQ and tried hard. He seems to be most successful at academic work, especially when lengthy, monotonous jobs such as making a list of important dates in U.S. history can be assigned. He is not known as a troublemaker in the institution, although his own tales, such as dumping another inmate into a barrel of water and getting no discipline write-up, sound bizarre if true. It is possible that institutional officials are quite tolerant of Wally's behavior because he is clearly no threat either in himself or in ability to stir up other inmates.

OPPORTUNITY SYSTEM EXPERIENCES

Apparently the open community has found no place, either a home or other system, that could contain Wally. One has the impression from his stories that at least three institutions have tried their best. In the first he was kept for a much longer time than usual until he was obviously too old for the much younger population. In the institution for defectives, he was part of an experimental group and received considerable attention from a "sociologist." In the institution for the criminally insane he was very happy with occupational therapy:

> I like it best when I have something to do that takes a long time and is complicated. Like I made a frame and strung yarn to make my mother a beautiful blue stole. It took me six months. Or wood-carving with lots of design. Once I told the teacher, give me your biggest picture. I painted a horse. I don't do like the others do, slap paint on in big gobs. I make every line soft and thin, paint the whole canvas so you can't see a stroke.

He was sent to the reformatory to learn a trade, and there has been much patient effort on the part of at least two work instructors in the printing shop and in the agricultural laboratory to help him develop some skill. Teachers in this institution have put a great deal into Wally and he still remains in the high school program where he is happiest. However, the damage was apparently done before the institutions began their work, and the outlook for Wally's reintegration into a less protected role in the community is poor.

RESPONSE TO STRESS

Almost any normal human situation produces stress in Wally. His response is uneasiness, together with disorganized and inappropriate behavior.

RESPONSE TO HELP

Wally responds to a quieting friendly approach with much talking, preceded and followed by fears that the helping person has seen inside of him, knows him for what he is, and will use this information harmfully toward him.

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ONE–HOUR INTERVIEW

STEVE

STEVE (age twenty-three) is a wiry, angular young man with one glass eye. It seems to have been poorly fitted and is noticeable as a disfigurement. During the interview he spoke easily, although he early commented that he has always tended to stutter and become embarrassed when talking with almost anyone. At the time of the interview, he was in a good mood since his parole date was less than two months away, and his plans for parole were unusually satisfactory. He was uniformly appreciative of the C Unit program. Although he and I had not talked before, his general friendliness toward C Unit staff seemed transferred to this new relationship. At the end of the interview, he kept wanting to talk longer. He left the office with a warm handshake, holding my hand in both of his, an unusual gesture from an inmate because of institutional conventions against physical contact between inmates and free persons. Although Steve is reported to have a somewhat limited IQ, I did not pick this up in the interview, experiencing him rather as a commonsensical average individual of lower working class cultural background.

PERCEPTION OF SOCIAL WORLD

Steve seems to perceive the world as made up of "big," secure people who establish the framework within which his less adequate self performs. These others perceive him, sometimes protectively, sometimes rejectingly, as they go about their own business. He takes it for granted that these others are correct in their evaluations of him, and it does not occur to him to wonder whether they also might feel insecure at times.

Steve made frequent comments about how he believes others have seen him.

> I guess I was always petted by my family. All the rest are big people and I have been the littlest.
>
> I've always felt left out at school and, until recently, in the institution. Boys didn't seem to like to play with me. I thought they were looking at my eye [shot out at age thirteen] and thinking I was funny looking, so I stayed away from people.
>
> When I first came to the reformatory I was awful sneery. I kept people away from me, never had anything to do with other inmates. Since I found out that I can talk and be friendly, I have found the others liked me all right after all. No wonder they stayed away before.
>
> The first time I went to the Parole Board, I couldn't answer any of their questions. I just stuttered, couldn't finish sentences, said I didn't know. Then this other inmate, he began to drill me. I've spent hours having him ask me

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> the questions the Board might ask and trying to answer them. Then I would go back to my house[1] and drill myself over and over again. This last time at the Board I knew just what to say whatever they asked me. I talked as easily as I am talking to you right now.

These comments were specific and commonsensical rather than complaining. Steve accepts that he has been responsible for evoking unfavorable reactions and takes it for granted that it is he who must change.

In the larger sense, however, one misses a realistic evaluation of how seriously he has contributed to the mess-ups in his life, particularly in connection with the repeated accidents with vehicles beginning at age twelve. One receives the impression that Steve relies on a strong supporting external structure of relationships established and maintained by persons with a wider perspective than his own. Although he depends on these supports, he does not perceive how they operate or how necessary they are to his own functioning. In a sense the whole social world has become for Steve just a larger family, among whom he is the "littlest," on whom he depends, and whose requirements he strives to meet.

SELF-IMAGE

Steve sees himself as one who has always felt inadequate and to whom "accidents" happen. "I kind of gave up. Seemed like every time I got started on a job, something bad would happen to mess things up." Most of these events involved accidents with cars or machinery. He accepts responsibility for not having established a steady continuous way of life insofar as his lack of work skills and withdrawal from other people have contributed to failure. But the accidents have just happened and each time they have had drastic consequences for his future.

Now Steve sees himself as quite prepared to achieve the modest goals of home and work that he has set for himself. In the reformatory he has learned refrigeration skills and is rated as a good workman, having received many more hours of training than is usual in the reformatory instruction program. In C Unit he has become comfortable in that people like him and that he can mingle easily with others. Having solved these two problems, he feels confident that his natural devotion to work will take care of his long-range plans.

Steve has never perceived himself as a "delinquent," but rather as a good person with acceptable moral codes and goals, and as a good workman who has, up to this point, lacked direction and specialized skills.

MORAL ORIENTATIONS

Steve has been brought up in a church-going fundamentalist family with strict codes for behavior. He ascribes to these codes for himself and has never been attracted by a delinquent culture or its activities. No drinking, fights, or generalized stealing. His early minor troubles as a juvenile were all stimulated by a fascination with cars. When he was twelve, he stole cars:

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[1] House: Inmate term for home cell.

> I expect you would call it stealing, although it was always my folks' cars. The first real trouble came when I took my dad's pick-up truck and smashed it up in an accident. It was stealing because I didn't ask him if I could take it. I sure expected a real hiding that time, but all he did was talk with me about how bad I had been. That made me feel worse than a whipping would have.

Later, as a teen-ager, he had his driver's license revoked for three years because of another automobile accident. At 16 and 17 there were minor charges connected with receiving stolen goods; he had purchased equipment for his car which he did not know was stolen, and he was placed on "informal probation." Thus, at the time of this offense—age 20—he had never before been dealt with officially as an offender.

The present offense is a serious one—armed robbery. Steve, at age 20, was in a bad financial situation due to still another accident. He had taken his wife and infant son to another state where an uncle had helped him secure work. After three months, work he was able to buy a car and bring his wife and child home for Thanksgiving. On the road Steve fell asleep while driving and drove headlong into a bridge, injuring all three of the family so that hospitalization was required. As a result, he was faced with no job, medical bills, bills for repair of the car, and a suit from the state for damages to the bridge. At this point his oldest brother—age 33—was out of prison (the only other delinquent member of the family), and he suggested that they make some money together. "I guess I had too much pride. My father or other brothers would have helped me, but I didn't want to ask them. I thought I would handle things my own way. I knew it was bad but I wouldn't ask." The two brothers, using a loaded gun, held up a supermarket.

> I was driving. The people saw my brother and later identified him. And they described the car, which was registered in my name. They picked us up in two weeks. We got over $2,000 and I was able to pay up some of my bills. That made me feel good for awhile. My wife asked me where I got the money, and I said I had borrowed it, so it was all right with her. But at the time of the robbery I was afraid. I was shaking all over. Mostly for fear my brother would use the gun and something really serious would happen—people might get hurt.

Steve is firmly organized against committing any other illegal acts. "I'm glad I was caught this time before I did anything worse." He feels that his stay in the reformatory has prepared him for a future which he has carefully specified. His wife and he have been reconciled (there was a period when she was running around with other men). He has a trade that he likes and a good job in this kind of work waiting for him. An alternative job is available if there is any slip-up in the final arrangements. All his married brothers and sisters together with his parents are prepared to help. "I've found out there are times when a guy needs help, and it is all right to accept it." In addition, Steve has planned ahead. He wants more children, "a girl next." He expects to renew his relationship with the family church so "my son will grow up knowing what is right." Sometime he hopes to own a little home and perhaps his own business. Goals, means, and moral orientations seem firmly and, perhaps realistically, related.

FAMILY ROLE

Steve is the fifth child in eight. The family moved from the South when he was small and the father now owns both his home in town and a large farm on the outskirts of town, where he produces various seasonal crops. The father is an almost full-blooded Indian and the mother is Irish. Steve describes his parents and all the other children in the family as large-boned—tall and built accordingly. It is as though he grew up in a race of giants. Steve believes he was petted and indulged because he was so much smaller, and that in the family he has been accepted as he has not been in outside circles. Although the father wanted his sons to go into farming, and all the children had many responsibilities in connection with farm work as they grew up, only one brother has followed this line of work. All the children, except the oldest brother who is once again in prison, have been religious, steady, working people, engaged in construction and skilled trades of various sorts. The older members of the family are married and have children, and the in-laws seem to be similar kinds of folk. Although Steve has been promised a job in refrigeration, a brother has located a farm job with housing provided as an alternative plan. Most of the brothers and sisters are on Steve's visiting list, and Steve reports regular visits from most family members. He has no feeling of rejection by them because of his misdeed.

Steve married at age nineteen and reports having been happy with his wife. Apparently the families approved of the early marriage. "I was with my girl friend after dinner one evening and said, 'Let's go get married.' She agreed and both our parents went with us that night to a place out of the state for the wedding." Steve speaks of the four-year-old boy as "my son," although the record indicates that it may have been his wife's child by a previous relationship. After he came into the reformatory Steve heard his wife was sleeping with another man—someone she had known before she married Steve.

> At first I was awful upset, disillusioned I guess. I had her taken off my correspondence list. I didn't even want to hear from her. But you know, after I got to be more friendly with other people around here, I suddenly thought, "She is always good-natured. It is easy for her to give in to anyone." So I wrote and asked her to come see me. I was real surprised she was real happy to get together with me again.

Steve's wife is now living with his parents, and they will stay in the family home at the beginning of his parole until they are financially established. She visits frequently, bringing the child. (Steve's counselor reports that the man she was running around with has been institutionalized and that his absence may have had something to do with her readiness to renew her relationship with Steve.)

ROLE WITH PEERS

Steve has always felt left out and unwanted except among his family members. In the institution he withdrew from relations with other inmates and apparently assumed a contemptuous, sarcastic manner when anyone tried to approach him. "I was in culinary at first and I asked for the odd hours that nobody else wanted. I would get up early, go back to my room to sleep until my next shift, and then work late. That way I kept out of the way of everybody else. I didn't want anybody else around and I kept them away from me." Finally an older inmate, a former county sheriff with whom Steve got acquainted in another unit, asked Steve why he held people off by his "sneering" manner.

> He said I'd never get anyplace that way. It was my own fault other people didn't like me. We used to talk a lot about serious things, and he helped me

> practice talking to other people. I found out they were friendly when I spoke right up. I used to think they didn't want to hear what I had to say, but it was just because I didn't bother to say anything or said something sarcastic when they spoke to me.

When Steve was selected for C Unit this separated him from his friend, who was later also selected for C Unit. "I was awful mad at C Unit at first. When my friend came in, I was glad to see him there where we could talk regularly again. I could tell I was beginning to slip back. Now I talk with everybody and I have enough self-confidence so I won't slip back again."

In C Unit groups Steve has been an active member but not a leader, although once he ran for office. He was a regular member of the Chaplain's Religious Interest Group. "C Unit has been real good for me. Everybody's friendly."

ROLE WITH OFFICIALS

On the outside Steve has had a number of jobs, each of which ended with an accident. He was employed for five months as the operator of a road construction machine. He was fired when he ran it off into a ditch. When his uncle got him a job in another state, he worked in a shipping company (the job that was ended by the accident on the way home for Thanksgiving). In the institution he has been known as a good workman, having spent many more hours than is usual in the Refrigeration Shop. When his place in the shop was required for other men on the waiting list, Steve complained about idle time and kept at the Assignment Lieutenant until he was assigned to an outside crew where he could work hard. Now he drives the truck from one spot to another in minimum security areas.

In his less friendly days Steve stayed away from officials as he did from other people and was lost sight of in a culinary assignment. However, since he has been on C Unit, more attention has been paid to his program. As a result he has learned a trade and been enrolled in school where he works hard and gets good grades in spite of his visual handicap.

Steve now feels on good terms with many kinds of official persons, including the custody officers. He thinks all the units should be organized the way C Unit is. He is especially pleased with having had an opportunity to get acquainted with his parole officer.

> I didn't like him at first [the man is quite brusque.] But now I am glad I had a chance to learn ahead of time just what he expects me to do. I'll get along fine with him now it's all clear in my head what he wants and what I can't do.

OPPORTUNITY SYSTEM EXPERIENCES

Steve seems to have been sheltered by his large and secure family during his growing-up days. Because of his visual handicap he did not establish easy modes of communication with the outside world, although apparently he had normal experiences with the school and church as official structures. Lacking work skills and with his propensity for accidents, he never established himself in the normal employment world after he assumed the responsibilities of a family. In the institution he was essentially neglected until the more individualized attention in C Unit brought his lack of a trade to official attention. With opportunities made available, he has made better than average use of resources for learning and doing. The supports and resources available to him as he goes out on parole are unusually strong. It is interesting to note that he turned to serious illegitimate activity only when, in a period of severe stress, the adult advisor was the family's one criminal.

RESPONSE TO STRESS

Stress seems to be invoked in Steve by situations in which his own inadequacy has destroyed external stability. His reaction is withdrawal and disorganization. Given strong outer resources testifying to his worth and providing him wih suitable opportunities, he is capable of well-organized, cooperative, and striving responses.

RESPONSE TO HELP

Steve depends on and responds easily to help in a situation where he is allowed to feel like a person of some value. He has none of the distrust of being helped—as a sign of inner weakness—that characterizes many inmates. Neither is he aware of how much he depends on help because he is more aware of his own activity in using the opportunities provided by help. He does not seem to have any urgency to get help on the level of exploring his own inner processes. Rather he talks with helping persons about real problems—his need for a change in work assignment, his decisions about renewing his relationship with his wife, his parole plans. His feeling for his counselor is warm and uncomplicated.

case study 16

ONE–HOUR INTERVIEW

KANE

KANE is a quiet-speaking, lethargic Negro, age thirty-two, who seemed to accept the interview without question or concern as just another thing that happens to inmates. He seldom volunteered any information and often answered a question by "Oh, yes," using a falling inflection followed by a pause as though the subject had been exhausted. When I checked later in his record I found that during his two years in the reformatory he has been uniformly reported as passive, dull normal in intelligence, and lacking in drive. His counselor says he shows a consistently low energy level, has no discernible motivation, and does not participate in programs, although he continues to be outwardly accepting and biddable.

Any attempt to record the story that ultimately emerged during the interview does injustice to the fragmented nature of our communication. Every new fact was elicited by still another question something as follows:

> (So you finished high school?) Oh, yes. (What happened then?) I went to Junior College. (What kind of a job were you preparing for?) Well, my parents always planned for me to be a doctor. (What did you think?) Well, I changed to pharmacy. (But you say you started to get into trouble about then?) Oh, yes.

And so on. It was as though, in the interview as in the rest of his life, Kane left all the work of maintaining continuity to the other person. In fact, I pieced together the chronological sequence of his story after the interview rather than during our talk, because it was only when I noticed unexplained gaps and asked questions about them that he filled in the missing details.

PERCEPTION OF SOCIAL WORLD

Kane views life as a series of disconnected events, good, bad, and indifferent, all experienced in the same muted, unquestioning manner. He evidences no need to explain why one kind of event follows another; and he expresses neither curiosity nor distress about the drastic change in his life that occurred when he started junior college. Quite simply, "I knew a crowd at the community center in my neighborhood. A lot of them were using drugs. So I started using too. That's when the trouble started." In the same way he anticipates no problem of adjustment when he moves from life in the institution to the more demanding life on the streets after he is paroled.

> I will not get into trouble so long as I keep busy. (What will you do to keep out of trouble?) Stay away from my friends. (Can you do that?) Oh, yes. (How will you fill your time?) When I am not working I will go to the library. None of those people will be there.

Kane's one assertion about himself was the firm statement that "I know how to do time."[1] Whether inside or outside the institution, Kane seems to let time happen to him without any apparent desire to determine its content or to seek its meaning for himself.

Most people in life are perceived by Kane as there to take care of him. He says he is the only child of his old parents.

> They have always worked hard. (Did you work to put yourself through college?) Oh, no, my parents had saved so I could go to college. (When you dropped out of school what did they do?) Oh, they tried to help me. (How?) Oh, they paid some debts and got a lawyer for me. (But you say you have been in trouble for twelve years or more. Are they still willing to help you?) Oh, yes. They visit me every month. (What about when you get out?) I will live with my parents. They always have a home for me.

During Kane's middle twenties, before he was incarcerated this time, his "common-law wife" took over the burden of his care. The story as I pieced it together reveals that Kane was in and out of jail and on probation during the five years of this relationship.

> She always worked. (And she was willing to take you back each time?) Oh, yes. (Were you happy together?) Oh, yes. She wanted to get married. (What about you?) I thought I would put it off until we got the bills paid up and some money ahead. (But that time didn't come?) Oh, no. When I was about 15 I thought I wouldn't want to get married and have a family until I was about 35. It looks like it is going to be that way after all. (Why not go back to her when you get out on parole?) Oh, she left after I got sent to the reformatory. (Do you keep in touch?) Oh, no. She stopped writing. I expect she got tired waiting. I don't think about her now.

Kane speaks about only two persons with vigor and detail, the two officials in the institution with whom he has had trouble. In both cases he reports them as persons who were annoying in themselves and disliked by all inmates. One was "loud-mouthed, always playing jokes." The other—"He was always picking on one inmate and getting him into trouble." Kane reports nothing in his own behavior that would have drawn their attention to him. He settled his relationships with them by managing to be moved from their domain of responsibility.

SELF-IMAGE

Although Kane implicitly presents himself as a chronic dependent, he is more aware of himself as impervious to influence. "Nobody can do anything for a man but himself." "The institution couldn't do anything to help me." "I can do my own parole." "I know how to do time."

In its most positive aspect, Kane's self-image is that of a "good workman." He had vague notions of becoming a doctor when he was in high school and thinks of himself as having been a "good student." When he got to junior college he shifted his goal to "pharmacy," but all efforts to achieve an education disappeared within six months after he went on drugs. Insofar as Kane has worked (just when these periods occurred remains vague), he has been employed in unskilled and semiskilled labor, as a cannery worker, a warehouse employee, and, most consistently, as a refinisher of furniture. He asserts, with his downward inflection,

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[1] To do time: Let the days go by with no distress or effort to make experience meaningful.

> Oh, yes, I'm a good workman. My employers are always willing to take me back. (What about on parole?) My last employer in the furniture business says I can have a job.

In the institution he withdrew from the vocational training originally scheduled for him.

> They put me in upholstery training. I guess they thought those skills would work in with the furniture refinishing. (You didn't stay in that program?) I didn't like the work supervisor. He was always joking, loud-mouthed. I don't like loud people, playing around. (You were transferred?) Oh, yes. I asked to get out. They put me in the factory, assembling furniture.

Kane has remained in this technically undemanding assignment during his two years in the reformatory. "I can stay as long as I like. They say I am a good workman." Otherwise, in the institution Kane's only interests seem to be reading and sports.

In a sense, Kane seems to become most specifically a person at the periphery of himself where people impinge on him and attempt to change him. At that level he can mobilize himself to resist or avoid. Within this tough circumference he seems to drift anonymously, following a schedule determined by others and doing time vicariously as he reads or views sports on television.

MORAL ORIENTATIONS

Kane assumes no responsibility for the trouble he has been in and expresses no moral evaluation about his behavior. What he has done has been neither good nor bad. It has happened.

When Kane started junior college none of his former friends were still in school. He spent his spare time playing basketball at a local neighborhood recreation center where he was introduced to drugs. Within six months he was so seriously addicted that he was sent to a state hospital for a cure. Since then all his arrests and periodic commitments to jail have resulted from possession of drugs or minor thefts designed to get money for drugs. He says he has not been a heavy user since his original hospitalization; and he reports four years on probation under control by weekly nalline tests.[2] "I only use drugs when I am out of a job and there are bills to be paid; too much time on my hands."

Kane's last offense involved stealing tires from a service station.

> (How did you get them?) Oh, it was easy. I waited until the attendant was busy on the other side. They were just piled there on the ground. (What did you do with them?) Oh, I put as many in my car as it would hold and drove off.

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[2] Nalline test: An antinarcotic test which detects whether or not the person being tested has been using opiate derivative drugs. Administered weekly or oftener.

> (How did you happen to be caught?) Oh, the police stopped me. (Where?) Oh, a few minutes later in the same neighborhood. (Why would they think to stop you?) Oh, in that neighborhood the police are always around. They knew me.

There was a flagrant lack of self-protectiveness implied in the way Kane reported this episode. A month earlier he had been dropped from work because he collapsed from an overdose of drugs. At that moment his "wife" was also unemployed. Kane found a credit card and purchased a number of items on credit. "I guess my bills were about $2,000. And the unemployment compensation wasn't enough to pay the rent." It was almost as though Kane had been asking to be taken back to jail where these complexities would no longer harass him because there he would not be expected to do anything about them. Apparently at this point the police and the probation officer gave up on Kane; and he was committed to a state prison instead of to the county jail where previously he had been sent for short periods following each new arrest. Evidently Kane's common-law wife also gave up at this time and quietly moved from the area.

At age thirty-two, Kane seems to be "burnt out," without hopes, fears, or ambitions. So far as he plans for his parole, he expects to return to his parents' home in the same neighborhood and to work for his former employer. He will "stay off drugs" by working and "going to the library."

FAMILY ROLE

Kane speaks of himself as his parents' only child although the record says there were five other children in the family, all of whom died in childhood. His family were poor, although both parents worked. "Oh, yes. My father works in a factory. My mother does domestic work." "They have not been able to buy a home. There were my bills, of course. And lawyer fees." Kane's original plans to become a doctor seem to have been initiated by his parents' hopes rather than his own interest. Kane does not speak of them with affection. He simply indicates that they have always been there as resources and that they continue to accept responsibility for his care.

ROLE WITH PEERS

Kane reports himself as independent in choosing his activities, preferring reading to the noisy joking of the Negro inmate crowd. At the same time he does not object to groups when their activities, such as football, interest him. In C Unit he has attended the caseload group, but only because "We all go. It takes an hour off work." He is not interested in organizations. Apparently he chooses the activity and, if other people are involved, that is all right with him.

ROLE WITH OFFICIALS

Kane does get definite about his preferences when an official annoys him. Twice he spoke of officials in the reformatory who did not give him the undemanding support that he seems to expect and usually receives from those who supervise him. One was the work instructor whom he saw as "loud-mouthed." "None of the inmates like to work for him." The other was an officer in a former unit. "He was always getting on one inmate and causing him trouble. Like a U[3] for having something in my house[4] that he said was contraband, or saying I was holding up count[5] by having my door held open so he couldn't throw the lock on the tier. That was one reason I was glad to get into C Unit. I got away from that officer. In C Unit I don't have no U's." Kane has no explanation for his difficulties with these two men except that they are the kind of persons with whom everyone has trouble. In both instances the problem was resolved only because Kane was removed from the offending individual.

OPPORTUNITY SYSTEM EXPERIENCES

Kane was brought up in a hard-working Negro family, living in a run-down metropolitan area. The parents strove to make things better for their son. Although their goals for Kane were unrealistic, he managed to graduate from high school and to enroll in junior college. It was apparently at this point that the gap between parental expectations and Kane's ability to perform in the available opportunity systems precipitated a complete breakdown in his functioning. Since then he has been a marginal worker in seasonal jobs. When unemployment hits and bills pile up he finds it easy to take to drugs. He seems to have no ambition to prepare himself for a more secure way of life.

RESPONSE TO STRESS

Stress for Kane is any expectation from without that he cope with problems or assume responsibility. His reaction is to retreat, to force others to do something about his uncomfortable position.

RESPONSE TO HELP

Kane is quite clear that help, e.g., vocational training, involves expectations from others that he invest effort. He is completely resistant to such demands from others and prefers to make his own minimal adjustment by "doing time."

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[3] U: A grade registered daily by the Unit officer for each inmate. Three U's in a month require a written discipline report that sends the individual inmate before the "court."

[4] House: Inmate term for home cell.

[5] Count: Procedure for checking total population conducted four times a day. Each inmate is expected to return to his room and stand at attention behind his locked door.

case study 17

ONE--HOUR INTERVIEW

DON

DON is a pleasant, relaxed, not very noticeable youth (age nineteen) whose point of view seems consistently commonsensical, a bit humorous, and characterized by an effort to report events fairly. Basically he seems amazingly naïve, given the kind of erratic life to which he had been exposed. (A later check with his counselor confirmed that this naïvete is pervasive in Don's operations and seems to be genuine.) Don is a Southerner and spoke with a noticeable but pleasant Southern drawl.

PERCEPTION OF SOCIAL WORLD

I had the impression that Don sees the social world in detail, with curiosity and enjoyment like that of a bright, much younger teen-ager. There is evidence of shrewd discrimination about details but little awareness of a larger framework. He had much that was pleasant to report, although he was aware of the dark and uneasy side of things. For instance, when he was describing his family's wanderings from state to state he reported: "Nine people in one car—my folks and seven kids. The tire tied on to the back of the car with a rope, and all our stuff crammed into the back seat or on the car roof." Then his face lit up as he added: "And always a dog. My mother had a little peke that went everywhere with us. Sometimes there were two dogs. Once I had a big boxer—I sure did love him. [Tales about his tricks.] I don't like cats, they always scratch me. But if there is a dog around he is my dog right away. But my boxer got too big for the car and we had to leave him behind."

When Don was fourteen, his father had one of his innumerable short jobs. He was apparently responsible for the basic work on a farm where living for himself and family was provided as part of his pay. A large portion of the job consisted of caring for and milking the cows. Don talked of the cold at four in the morning when he had to get up to milk and of "sure not liking the snow" he had to walk through to get to school. "Cold is one thing that really gets me." The job only lasted a month or so, and during most of this period his father was incapacitated on a drunk. Don took over the care of the cows morning and evening:

> I sure liked to take care of cows. My big moment in life was when one of the cows had to have her belly cut open and the vet was there working on her. I kept wanting to help him and was I excited when he asked me to hold her while he was operating. I thought I was real big and wanted to be a vet more than anything else in life. I hoped he would come often and teach me what I needed to know. Later I realized I would have to have more education than I would ever get to be a vet but for a long while I was sure I was going to be an animal doctor.

I asked what Don's sixteen-year-old brother was doing at that time and why fourteen-year-old Don had to take so much responsibility. Don seemed hesitant to criticize. "Well, he was busy I guess," but then admitted his brother seemed to be his father's favorite and was seldom around when work was to be done.

When I asked Don about his experience in a correctional school in another state, he responded:

> Now it isn't exactly right for an inmate to talk about what an institution is like. No inmate ever wants to be there. But when I think about it now I would say it was a well-run place. They fed you good, had plenty of nice things for you to do. They didn't ride you hard. I'd say they were fair, and you didn't get called down for anything you didn't do.

Without any apparent self-conscious effort to do so, Don imparts to his stories this quality of experiences remembered for the enjoyable circumstance rather than for the surrounding deprivations and discomforts. Usually what he has enjoyed most is an experience that involved learning. When he had left his family and was wandering about alone he found himself in a small Southern California town and was taken on by a young bachelor minister who housed two or three older teen-agers for a period of months while they built a youth center adjacent to the church. The minister's married sister and parents who lived close by took the boys in for occasional meals and were frequently in the parsonage to help with housekeeping and church functions. Don remembers this six months with warm detail—the good kind of family times; the beautiful stone facing they built at the end of the hall covered with hanging ferns and with a planter lining its base; singing in the choir; the youth fellowship get-togethers. Now in the institution he is learning to be a cook and has even had a pay job (a very unusual assignment for a youthful offender in this institution).

> My instructor is a real good man to work for—both of them are real good, friendly and ready to help. But the thing I like best is that every day I learn to make something new. Like today I learned to make garlic butter and yesterday sauce d'maître. Now I'm not too bright [IQ 97] and I haven't had much education so it takes me a long time, but every day something new and that's the way I'll get along. So long as I am learning something, then it's a good job.

Recently he asked to move off the pay job, which involved cooking for inmates in isolation, back onto the regular crew because he could learn so much more with the larger menu range served in the regular mess.

Throughout, Don's perception of people and life experiences evidenced tolerance for human weaknesses—his own and others, appreciation for the good things that have come his way, and an ability to find enjoyment in the small things of life.

SELF-IMAGE

Don does not seem to see himself as separate from his experiences; he is when he is acting. This is not a blurring in sense of self as distinct from others. Rather, it is a genuine focus outward. He is simply too busy experiencing to worry about internal processes.

Don is modest about himself without being self-deprecatory. He sees himself as responsible for his mistakes and seems to have no bitterness about the many handicaps that mark his life. His goal for himself is unpretentious. He wants to return to his family—now finally located near the institution—and become a good cook. Ultimately he will have a family of his own, but he is focused at this time on settling down to a "grown-up way of living" with a steady job in which he can learn.

MORAL ORIENTATION

Don has never thought of himself as a criminal and has no desire to be one. He seems singularly untouched by the inmate culture by which he is surrounded, perhaps because he is protected by his culinary hours (early in the morning and late in the evening with the middle of the day free for sleeping, TV, and other individual activities). Given his nomadic life, he has been involved in very little delinquency.

When Don was fifteen his father, in a drunken rage, gave him a terribly severe beating with a strap. Don told his father, "That is the last time you are going to do that," and took off from home. Shortly afterwards he stole a car, and it was for this that he was placed in the first correctional school in the Midwest.

> I guess it was mostly cars I took. Oh yes, and I siphoned some gas once in a while. But I wasn't too good at getting away with stealing cars. The first one I stole I was picked up for. There were six in all I guess. I got picked up twice for stealing cars that I didn't take, but there were three I did take when I didn't get caught, so I guess that evens it out. It was a stolen car this time too, so I guess I'm paying now for the ones I did take but didn't get caught at. I think I've gotten over that kind of nonsense, kind of gotten it out of my system, especially now that I have a trade.

The offense for which he was sent to the reformatory was the rather hair-raising culmination of a breakdown in resources after the job at the church was finished. The minister was getting married but agreed to house Don until he got a job, since Don had no idea where his family was. Finally, he located a job at a supermarket and moved into a rooming house. At the supermarket Don met an older stock clerk, who suggested they take an occasional can of beer from the storage refrigerator.

> There were two or three guys who knew I had been in an institution, and they thought I was a big shot. I guess I tried to be one. We got to taking still a bit more beer. Then I invited the crowd I was running around with to my room for a Christmas party and they brought a lot of liquor. Everybody got real drunk and they sure tore up the place, so the next day the landlady told me I had to move.

Don lost his job and moved with two or three of these delinquent friends (all unemployed) into a run-down house. Don stole a car with the idea of looking for work. When money was needed for food, Don wrote a check for fifteen dollars and told one of his companions to cash it on the other side of town. However, the friend went across the street to a neighborhood grocery. The police were called and appeared just after Don found out where the friend had taken the check and had persuaded his two friends that they had to get the stolen car out of the neighborhood. The three boys saw the police car and drove off, starting a wild chase through town with the police after them. The older friend was driving and proposed they leave the state. "I was scared but I didn't know what else to do. I guess I was kind of excited too."

On the way out of town the friend picked up his girl friend. The four of them were arrested three states away. Don was returned to the city in which the offense was committed and booked for car stealing. The probation officer told him he would have been placed on probation except for the fact that, because no family could be located, there was nothing to do but commit Don to the state correctional program.

Throughout this story there was an odd quality of Don's being both the leader and the led. Don had apparently tried to "live up to his rep as a big shot" because he had been "inside," and he was the one who had the practical ideas. But it was the older friend who took over in the reckless, "thumbing the nose at the law" aspects of the adventure, and Don got caught up in it, experiencing both fear and fascination. Apparently the authorities did not see Don as particularly delinquent since his charge is minor given the fact that two federal offenses were involved. The minister and his friends rallied around to give Don good references during the probation study period.

One has the impression that Don's real value preferences lie within the kind of life he experienced with the minister. He has no high-flown verbal formulations about values but in a commonsensical, down-to-earth fashion is attracted considerably more by the pleasures of "learning" and trustworthy relationships than by the more insecure excitements of delinquency.

FAMILY ROLE

Don was fourth in a family of seven children. There was one older brother who pretty much got his own way in the early days and left the family for military service before Don ran away. In the first fifteen years of his life, Don went with the family on its itinerant wanderings from state to state. He mentioned at least six different states from the deep South, north on the Eastern coast, and into the Midwest where he had been at school for one short period or another. He attended a single school continuously only one full year, the first grade, and he was in and out of school for short periods until the eighth grade. The family followed crops and occasionally the father settled for a short while on a farm or a construction job. Don remembers his father as drunk most of the time and as paying attention to him primarily to give him a whipping. Don expressed a kind of confused vagueness about where he was when different events occurred in his life until after he was on his own. After he ran away at fifteen, he was in the correctional school in a midwestern state for a while and then came on to the West.

Recently, his mother turned up unexpectedly one day at the reformatory. She informed him that his father had died and that she and the younger children are now living in a nearby city. She expects him to come home to her on parole and has apparently been faithful in visiting him since the reunion. Don accepts it as normal that he is fond of his mother and sisters, but the people he met during his six months with the minister are reported more vividly than members of his family.

ROLE WITH PEERS

There is a kind of naïveté and lack of specificity in Don's report of peer relationships. He likes doing things together with other people but reports no single close relationship nor any real discrimination among peers. It is as though he enjoys the activities in groups more than the relationships, remaining friendly but unattached. In the cook crew he is aware of and fond of the adult leaders rather than of his co-workers.

ROLE WITH OFFICIALS

Don's most significant attachments are to adults who show him warmth and teach him something—the vet, the minister, the cooking instructor, the counselor, and the parole officer who is planning for his release. He seems to move easily into this kind of relationship. He apparently does not precipitate hostile adult relationships and feels he has been treated decently by the staff in the earlier correctional school, by the police who picked him up, the probation officer who studied his case, and the officers in the reformatory.

OPPORTUNITY SYSTEM EXPERIENCES

Don has had little systematic schooling. He asked to come to this institution at the time of his initial assignment so he could finish school, but once here he was told that because of the waiting list, he would get into school too late to reach his eighth-grade certificate. This is his one regret about his stay at the reformatory: he could do better in the future with more education. Since Don had already done some culinary work, he was given the cooking assignment—with a schedule that makes an additional school assignment impossible. He has risen rapidly in this trade—in comparison with the usual youthful offender in this institution—and now sees this training as preparation for a work future.

RESPONSE TO STRESS

Don seems to roll with the punches in a relaxed fashion that reduces the impact of many experiences that others would find terribly stressful. This relaxation together with his ability to find something interesting to do or learn in most situations seems to protect him from many of the devastating effects that might have been expected, given his life history. When he is rootless, however, his stance toward life is too naïve to protect him—almost as though not enough stress signals get through to warn him when he is moving into danger. As a result he can get caught up in situations that lead to serious consequences.

RESPONSE TO HELP

Don is responsive to warmth and interest and tends to evoke it. Because he does not experience problems in a stressful fashion, he looks to helping people for teaching and resolution of practical difficulties rather than for help with problem-solving on a deeper emotional level.

Teaching Unit I

SELECTED REFERENCES

The following books are classics in the field of delinquency and crime, introducing the reader to historical landmarks in the intellectual effort to explain the causation of this kind of behavior. Each book represents a particular scholar's approach to the task of explanation. In general the writers selected for this list have approached the subject from either the psychoanalytical or the sociological perspectives, although some make use of psychosociological concepts as well. No annotations have been attempted for this list. These are background works to be used by the reader who would like to achieve a historical overview of the development of causation theory in this field.

Aichhorn, August. Wayward Youth. New York: Viking Press, 1935.

Alexander, Franz, and Healy, William. Roots of Crime: Psychoanalytic Studies. London and New York: A.A. Knopf, 1935.

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Eissler, K.R. (ed.). Searchlights on Delinquency. New York: International Universities Press, 1949.

Friedlander, Kate. The Psychoanalytical Approach to Juvenile Delinquency. New York: International Universities Press, 1947.

Glueck, Sheldon, and Glueck, Eleanor (eds.). Unravelling Juvenile Delinquency. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1950.

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Healy, William, and Bronner, A.F. New Lights on Delinquency and Its Treatment. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936.

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Redl, F., and Wineman, D. Children Who Hate. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1951.

Sellen, Thorsten. Culture Conflict and Crime. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1938.

Shaw, Clifford R. The Jack-Roller. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930.

Sutherland, Edwin H., and Cressey, Donald R. Principles of Criminology. 5th edition. Chicago: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1955. See especially Chapter 4, "A Sociological Theory of Criminal Behavior," pp. 74-81.

Thrasher, Frederick M. The Gang. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936. (Also available in paperback, Phoenix Books, $2.95)

Whyte, William. Street Corner Society. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955. Revised edition.

Witmer, Helen L., and Kotinsky, Ruth. New Perspectives for Research on Juvenile Delinquency. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 356, 1956.

Summarizing analyses of various approaches to causation can be found in:

Bordua, David J. "Sociological Theories and Their Implications for Juvenile Delinquency," Juvenile Delinquency: Facts and Facets, No. 2. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Children's Bureau, 1960.

Cohen, Albert K., and Short, J. F., Jr. "Research in Delinquent Sub-Cultures," The Journal of Social Issues, XIV, 1958. Reprinted in Bobbs-Merrill Reprint Series in the Social Sciences, #46.

Gold, Martin. "A Comparative Perspective on Theories of Delinquent Behavior," in Delinquency: Patterns, Causes, Cures, A Symposium. Document Series #3, Inter-Center Program on Children, Youth and Family Life. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1960.

Lowrey, Lawson. "Delinquent and Criminal Personalities," in Hunt, J. (ed.), Personality and the Behavior Disorders. New York: Ronald Press, 1944. Volume H, Chapter 26.

Moles, Oliver, Jr., Lippitt, Ronald, and Withey, Stephen B. "Selective Review of Research and Theories Concerning the Dynamics of Delinquency," Document Series #2, Inter-Center Program of Research on Children, Youth and Family Life. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, September 1959.

Sutherland, Edwin H., and Cressey, Donald R. Principles of Criminology. 5th edition, 1955, and 6th edition, 1960. Chicago: J.B. Lippincott Co. Chapters 4 through 13, pp. 82-250.

The Psychosociological Explanation of Behavior:

Plant, James S., M.D. Personality and the Cultural Pattern. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, Oxford University Press, 1937.

Although this is an early work, it presents a lucid case for understanding the personality as the resultant of interaction between a person and his social situation. Because the author was a psychiatrist in a child guidance clinic, and worked with delinquents referred from a Juvenile Court, many of his illustrations are directly relevant for the understanding of delinquency and crime.

Rose, Arnold (ed.). Mental Health and Mental Disorder: A Sociological Approach. New York: Norton, 1955.

Section I (chapters 1-4, pp 3-60) summarizes the historical development of social psychiatric thought in the first half of this century. Chapter 21, "A Socio-Psychiatric Approach to Personality Organization" (pp. 314-324), is a concise statement of the basic propositions used by this approach.

Leighton, Alexander, Clausen, John A., and Wilson, Robert N. (eds.) Explorations in Social Psychiatry. New York: Basic Books, 1957.

One of the best general works for examining how the person and the social environment interact in many kinds of human difficulties, both those normal in the course of any life and those that reflect serious deviance. The theoretical and research problems encountered in this realm of scientific endeavor are explored. Chapter 1 (pp. 13-28) provides an unusually good outline of the central concepts in the psychosociological study of behavior.

Cumming, John, and Cumming, Elaine. Ego and Milieu: Theory and Practice of Environmental Therapy. New York: Atherton Press, 1962.

A sociologist and a psychiatrist join in analyzing how the milieu can be used in the treatment of mentally ill patients. Chapters 2 and 3 (pp. 32-60) present the theoretical framework by which they explain the interaction of ego with its surrounding environment, with special emphasis on the way crises and other problematic events evoke intrapsychic change and growth.

Socialization:

Broom, Leonard, and Selznick, Philip. Sociology. Third edition. New York: Harper & Row, 1963, pp. 93-140.

A succinct introduction to the subject of socialization as the "process of building group values into the individual," emphasizing that socialization is ongoing in the life of the individual. See especially two sections: "Adult Socialization" and "Resocialization," the latter of which is discussed as the planned effort to change the values of already matured individuals.

Shibutani, Tamotsu. Society and Personality: An Interactionist Approach to Social Psychology. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1961.

The entire book is useful for understanding the interactional framework for studying human behavior. Part IV, "Socialization" (pp. 471-594), consists of four chapters: "The Social Matrix of Personal Growth," "The Development of Self-Control," "The Development of Personal Idiom," and "Social Change and Personal Growth." The final chapter, "Social Psychology and Social Control" (pp. 597-617), discusses the relevance of this intellectual approach for "social engineering."

Social Class and Family in Socialization:

Herzog, Elizabeth. "Some Assumptions About the Poor," The Social Service Review, XXXVII, 4 (December 1963), pp. 389-402.

A critical analysis of current assumptions about the cultural characteristics of economically deprived families. Excellent bibliography for a review of the subject.

Riessman, Frank. The Culturally Deprived Child. New York: Harper & Bros., 1962.

Addressed particularly to school teachers who need to understand the orientations that underprivileged children bring to learning. Chapter 4 (pp. 25-35) presents a "portrait of the underprivileged."

Davis, Allison. "Child Rearing in the Class Structure of American Society," Family in a Democratic Society. Anniversary Papers of the Community Service Society of New York. New York: Columbia University Press, 1949, pp. 56-59.

"Socialization and Adolescent Personality," in Readings in Social Psychology, Swanson, Guy E., Newcomb, Theodore M., and Hartley, Eugene L., (eds.). New York: Henry Holt, 1952, pp. 520-531. Reprinted from The Family in a Democratic Society. Anniversary Papers of the Community Service Society of New York. New York: Columbia University Press, 1949, pp. 56-59.

—, and Havinghurst, Robert J. "Social Class and Color Differences in Childrearing," in Readings in Social Psychology, Swanson, Guy E.; Newcomb, Theodore M., and Hartley, Eugene L. (eds.). New York: Henry Holt, 1952, pp. 539-551. Reprinted in Social Perspectives on Behavior, Stein, Herman D., and Cloward, Richard (eds.). Glencoe: The Free Press, 1958, pp. 428-440.

Each article deals with the way class and ethnic differences in child rearing create conflicts between underprivileged and minority youth and the expectations of the middle-class institutions to which they are expected to adjust.

Bell, Norman W., and Vogel, Ezra F., (eds.). A Modern Introduction to the Family. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1960.

A compilation in which three articles are particularly useful: Kluckhohn, Florence Rockwood, "Variations in the Basic Values of Family," pp. 305-316; Plant, James, "Family Living Space and Personality Development," pp. 510-521; Spiegel, John P., "The Resolution of Role Conflict within the Family," pp. 361-382.

The Socialization of Modern Youth:

Erikson, Erik (ed.). Youth: Change and Challenge. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1961.

An anthology of articles drawing attention to youth as a recently perceived age group facing specific problems in the modern world. Of particular usefulness for our purposes are articles by Kenneth Keniston, "Social Change and Youth in America," pp. 161-188, and Talcott Parsons, "Youth in the Context of American Society," pp. 93-120.

Coleman, James S. The Adolescent Society: The Social Life of the Teenager and Its Impact on Education. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1961.

A study of American youth in high school with samples drawn from a range of social class backgrounds. Discusses the role of the school in the socialization of adolescents and the way different patterns for organizing school-student relationships affect the attitudes and values of the students. Chapter 10, "Sources of Adolescent Value Systems," and Chapter 11, "Adolescence and Secondary Education in Modern Society," are particularly useful.

Matza, David. "Position and Behavior Patterns of Youth." Chapter 6, to be published in Handbook of Modern Sociology, by Rand-McNally.

A survey of the position of youth in American society, the characteristic problems they encounter, and the typical patterns used for social adaptation to these problems. Especially valuable for its bibliography.

Identity Formation:

Soddy, Kenneth (ed.). Cross-Cultural Studies in Mental Health: Identity: Mental Health and Value Systems. London: Tavistock Publications, 1961, pp. 1-53.

Addressing the concept of identity as a key theme in modern thinking about mental health, an international committee of behavioral scientists outlines the significant dimensions for its study.

Erikson, Erik. "The Problem of Ego Identity," Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association, IV, 1 (January 1956), pp. 56-121. Reprinted in "Identity and the Life Cycle: Selected Papers," Psychological Issues, I, 1, Monograph 1: New York: International Universities Press, 1959. Also reprinted in Identity and Anxiety, ed. Maurice R. Stein et al; Glencoe: The Free Press, 1960.

"Youth: Fidelity and Diversity," in Youth: Change and Challenge. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1961, pp. 1-24.

Each of these papers is one version of the author's now famous proposition that the achievement of identity is the crucial developmental task of youth. "Youth Fidelity and Diversity" examines this process in terms of some of the major hazards to attaining the full commitment essential for a viable identity.

Witmer, Helen. "Delinquency and the Adolescent Crisis," Juvenile Delinquency: Facts and Facets, No. 11. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Children's Bureau, 1960.

This clear seven-page statement summarizes Erikson's theoretical contributions to the understanding of identity formation in youth, and sketches the social conditions that seem necessary to encourage healthy identity formation.

Lynd, Helen Merrell. On Shame and The Search for Identity. New York: Science Editions, 1961. (Paperback, $1.95)

"Describes experiences of shame as peculiarly revealing of the self." Proposes "more flexible ways of viewing personality if we are to gain understanding of pervasive experiences such as shame." (Quoted from abstract in Society and Self, ed. Bartlett H. Stoodley. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1962, p. 621)

Cohen, Yehudi A. The Transition from Childhood to Adolescence: Cross-Cultural Studies of Initiation Ceremonies, Legal Systems and Incest Taboos. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1964.

Written from an anthropological point of view and using data from primitive cultures, the writer focuses on the way transitional ceremonies prepare growing children to adopt the kinds of identity and sense of responsibility that are required by their society's formulation of justice in its legal norms. Chapter 2, "Fashioning an Identity and a Sense of Responsibility" (pp. 19-24), provides an introduction to the author's general theoretical approach.

Deviant Identities:

Schactel, Ernest G. "On Alienated Concepts of Identity," in Man Alone, Alienation in Modern Society, Josephson, Eric and Mary (eds.). New York: Dell Publishing Company, 1962, pp. 73-83. (Paperbook, $0.95)

Discusses the dynamics by which an alienated part of the self may become the focus for the individual's concern and uneasiness in many of the psychological disorders experienced by modern man.

Lemert, Edwin M. Social Pathology. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1951.

Chapters 3 and 4 discuss the "secondary deviance" that is often the consequence of experiencing negative social reactions to disapproved behavior. Chapter 9 specifies this process for criminal offenders.

Goffman, Erving. Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1963. (Available in paperback, Spectrum Book, $1.95)

Examines the effect of stigma on people who are "different" because of physical, psychological, or sociological handicaps; and the mechanisms by which they "manage" the resulting problems in social interaction.

Garfinkel, H. "Conditions of Successful Degradation Ceremonies," American Journal of Sociology, LXI, 5 (March 1956), pp. 420-424.

Describes our modern mechanisms for extruding the severe deviant from normal social status. This article is particularly important for understanding the effect of the formal court adjudication on the identities of criminal offenders.

Becker, Howard. Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963.

Using jazz musicians and marijuana-users as examples, the author discusses how deviants develop their rationale for a deviant way of life, support it through group associations, and justify its values.

Moral Orientations:

Piaget, Jean. The Moral Judgment of the Child. Translated by Marjorie Gabain. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1948.

Studying children at play, the author analyzes the process by which the child learns "the rules of the game" and ultimately achieves a sense of justice and responsibility. Chapters 2 and 3 analyze the period of development (roughly latency) during which the "rules" are perceived as external authorities to be manipulated. Some of the offenders in the seventeen teaching cases are obviously fixated at this stage of moral perception.

Miller, Daniel R., and Swanson, Guy E. *Inner Conflict and Defense*. New York: Henry Holt, 1960, pp. 119-194.

Referring to class, sex, and child-rearing differences, discusses how moral standards are learned and how the resulting inner conflicts are handled.

Chwast, Jacob. "The Social Function of Guilt," *Social Work*, IX, 2 (April 1964), pp. 58-63.

Examining the social and personal dimensions of guilt, the author links guilt with control and values in the maintenance of psychological health and in the production of behavior disorders.

Sykes, G., and Matza, David. "Techniques of Neutralization: A Theory of Delinquency," *American Sociological Review*, XXII (1957), pp. 664-670.

Proposes that delinquents redefine social norms as lacking in moral authority in order to justify their activities rather than, as is more usually assumed, revolt against norms whose validity they accept.

Eissler, K. R. "Some Problems of Delinquency," in *Searchlights on Delinquency: New Psychoanalytic Studies*, K. R. Eissler (ed.). New York: International Universities Press, 1949, pp. 3-25.

Defines delinquency as a psychological disturbance involving an "alloplastic infringement of values" and relates treatment to the value issue.

Roles and Opportunity Systems:

Cottrell, Leonard S., Jr. "The Adjustment of the Individual to His Age and Sex Roles," *American Sociological Review*, VII (1942), pp. 617-620. Reprinted in *Readings in Social Psychology*, Theodore M. Newcomb and Eugene L. Hartley (eds.). *New York: Henry Holt, 1947*.

Presents a set of propositions about conditions that facilitate or interfere with the effective learning of roles. Summarizes the psychosociological findings to that date about how individuals are supported in making a successful transition from the roles appropriate for one developmental stage to those required by another.

Cloward, Richard A., and Ohlin, Lloyd. *Delinquency and Opportunity*. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1960.

Proposes that our society provides differential access to roles in both legitimate and illegitimate opportunity systems. Explains the emergence of lower-class male delinquent gangs as initially a response to failures in access to legitimate opportunity systems. Three modes of adaptation to this failure are criminal, conflictual, and retreatist, distinguished by and related to the opportunities available within the illegitimate systems.

Parker, Seymour. "Role Theory and the Treatment of the Anti-Social Acting-Out Disorders," *British Journal of Delinquency*, VII, 4 (April 1957).

Identifies one characteristic difficulty of offenders as the inability to learn roles and to develop a flexible repertoire of roles. Suggests that this difficulty arises because of lack of empathy with others. Proposes this problem as a focus for treatment efforts.

Setleis, Lloyd. "Civil Rights and the Rehabilitation of AFDC Clients," Social Work, IX, 2 (April 1964), pp. 3-10.

An insightful statement of how roles as recipients of organized services often degrade individual dignity and reduce ability to perform other roles responsibly.

Stress:

Leighton, Alexander H. The Governing of Men. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1945. Chapter 16, "Individuals under Stress," pp. 252-286.

Summarizes the types of stress most disturbing to emotions and thoughts (most of which are experienced by offenders in the course of their apprehension and treatment). Outlines the three basic forms of adaptation to stress available to human beings, including both the healthful forms such adaptive patterns can assume and those that are less viable.

Grinker, Roy, and Spiegel, John P. Men Under Stress. Philadelphia: Blakiston, 1945.

Studying men under combat, the authors trace the process by which stress leads to breakdown in functioning and describe the treatment of such reactions to stress. Chapter 6 (pp. 118-146) analyzes the psychodynamics of stress, emphasizing the position of the ego in regard to loss of mastery, independence, and freedom of activity.

Jacobsen, Edith. "Observation of the Psychological Effect of Imprisonment on Female Political Prisoners," in Searchlights on Delinquency, K. R. Eissler (ed.). New York: International Universities Press, 1949, pp. 225-245.

One of many useful descriptions of reactions to the stress of imprisonment.

Cumming, John, and Cumming, Elaine. Ego and Milieu: Theory and Practice of Environmental Therapy. New York: Atherton Press, 1962.

Chapter 3 (pp. 46-59) discusses crisis experiences as periods of "openness and vulnerability" that make ego growth possible through successful resolution of problems. Proposes the use of planned stress experiences in the treatment of disorganized egos.

Special Problems Observed in the Correctional Caseload and Illustrated in the Teaching Cases:

The Negro as a Minority Group

Cayton, Horace. "Psychology of the Negro under Discrimination," in Mental Health and Mental Disorder, Arnold Rose (ed.). New York: Norton, 1955, pp. 377-392.

Dai, Bingham "Some Problems of Personality Development Among Negro Children," in Personality in Nature, Society and Culture, Clyde Kluckhohn and Henry A. Murray (eds.). New York: A. Knopf, 1953, pp. 545-566.

Davis, Allison, and Dollard, John. Children of Bondage: The Personality Development of Negro Youth in the Urban South. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1940. (Available in paperback, Harper Torchbooks, $1.85)

—, and Havighurst, Robert J. "Social Class and Color Differences in Child Rearing," American Sociological Review, XI (December 1946), pp. 698-710. Reprinted in Readings in Social Psychology, Guy E. Swanson, Theodore M. Newcomb, and Eugene L. Hartley (eds.). New York: Henry Holt, 1952.

The Mexican in the United States

Broom, Leonard, and Shevsky, E. "Mexicans in the United States, A Problem in Differentiation," Sociology and Social Research, XXXVI (January-February 1952).

Jones, Robert. "Ethnic Patterns: The Mexican Family in the United States," American Journal of Sociology, LIII (May 1948), pp. 450-452.

Rogelio, Diaz-Guerrero. "Neurosis and the Mexican Family Structure," American Journal of Psychiatry (December 1955), pp. 411-415.

Saunders, Lyle. "English-Speaking and Spanish-Speaking People of the South West," in Social Perspectives on Behavior, Herman Stein and Richard Cloward (eds.). Glencoe: The Free Press, 1956, pp. 157-171.

Moral Problems of the American Business Culture

Henry, W. E. "The Business Executive: The Psychodynamics of a Social Role," American Journal of Sociology, LIV (1949), pp. 286-291.

Ruesch, Jurgen, and Bateson, Gregory. Communication: The Social Matrix of Psychiatry. New York: Norton, 1951. See Chapter 4, "Communication and American Values—A Psychological Approach," by Jurgen Ruesch, pp. 94-134.

The Professional Approach to Criminality

Sutherland, Edwin H. The Professional Thief. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937. Reprinted in Readings in Social Psychology, Guy E. Swanson, Theodore M. Newcomb, and Eugene L. Hartley (eds.). New York: Henry Holt, 1952, pp. 271-280.

Psychopathy

Bloch, Donald. "The Delinquent Integration," Psychiatry, XV (1952), pp. 297-303.

Gough, Harrison G. "A Sociological Theory of Psychopathy," in Mental Health and Mental Disorder: A Sociological Approach, Arnold M. Rose (ed.). New York: Norton, 1955, pp. 271-284.

Greenacre, Phyllis. "The Conscience of the Psychopath," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, XV (July 1945), pp. 495-509.

Johnson, A.M., and Szurek, S.A. "Etiology of Antisocial Behavior in Delinquents and Psychopaths," American Medical Association Journal, CLIV (March 6, 1954), pp. 814-817. See also Johnson, A.M., "Sanctions for Superego Lacunae of Adolescents," in Searchlights on Delinquency, K. R. Eissler (ed.). New York: International Universities Press, 1949, pp. 225-245.

McCord, William, and McCord, Joan. Psychopathy and Delinquency. New York: Grune and Stratton, 1956. See Chapter 1 (pp. 1-19) for summary of literature.

Drug Addiction

Clausen, John A. "Social Patterns, Personality and Adolescent Drug Use," in Explorations in Social Psychiatry, Alexander Leighton, John A. Clausen, and Robert N. Wilson (eds.). New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1957, pp. 230-277.

Cloward, Richard A., and Ohlin, Lloyd E. Delinquency and Opportunity: A Theory of Delinquent Gangs Glencoe: The Free Press, 1960. See Chapter 7, "The Retreatist Subculture," pp. 178-186.

Finestone, Harold. "Cats, Kicks and Color," in Identity and Anxiety, Maurice Stein et al. (eds.). New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1962.

Miller, Warren. The Cool World. Boston: Little, Brown, 1959. (Available in paperback, Crest, $0.40)

TEACHING UNIT 2

The Role of the Person to be Served

PROPOSITIONS

Every service agency provides an organizational role for the persons it serves. In performing the activities specified for this role, the individual gains access to his share of the pooled social resources and participates in the problem-solving work of the organization. The conditions established for this "membership in the agency" have important consequences both for the effectiveness of the service and for the ultimate welfare of the individual.

These conditions determine the official persons with whom the person to be served will deal, what he is expected to discuss with them, and the decisions about his life that must be shared with the agency. Even more importantly, since the agency is an official representative of the community and controls the resources to which the individual gains access only by being a "good member of the agency," his role in the agency is an important socializing experience, communicating to him both how he is seen by his community and the values that are officially sponsored and rewarded by that community.

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[1] Although "person to be served" is a cumbersome phrase, we use it here to distinguish the person as he is related to the agency from the same person as a client of the social worker. Social workers have been accustomed to use the term "client" in both cases, i.e.,"client of agency" and "client of social worker." But these two relationships are not the same. (See discussion of the term "client" in appendix p. 222.)

The organizational role is the more comprehensive of the two relationships and is shared by all persons to be served whether or not they are also clients of social workers. As "a person to be served" the individual may be involved in any of a number of service-related subroles such as "client of a social worker," "patient of a doctor," "counselee of a vocational advisor," "member of a living group supervised by an attendant,"or "member of a therapy group led by a therapist." Each agency tends to have its own term for designating its population of persons to be served, e.g., "recipient of welfare," "inmates of the institution," "patients in the hospital," or "children in foster homes." However, these terms are not transferable to other kinds of service systems. As a profession we need one comprehensive term to mean the organizational role in any service system provided for all persons who are related to the agency because of need of service.

When this service role is added to an individual's normal set of roles a change occurs in the total Gestalt of his social relations. Whether that role is assumed voluntarily or imposed by the community, it constitutes a formally structured difference between the individual and those others who secure the necessary social resources without special arrangements. In addition, some sort of weakness, inadequacy or "wrongness" is usually imputed to those persons who require special provision of services; and the individual is therefore classed—at least temporarily—with others who share his form of deviance. For the duration of the role, both the person to be served and his significant others must adjust the economy of their relationships to organizational constraints that reduce the domain of self-reliance. They learn to live for some period with the weekly interview, the eligibility checks, the appearance of officials in the home, the controls of the institution over communication, and the rules (medical, correctional, welfare, or other) that substitute organizational patterns for the expression of individual life-style.

Thus the organizational role provided for the person to be served, in and of itself, adds strains to the individual's problematic situation. It is true that this role is the mechanism through which he secures supplementary social resources, but it also carries the seeds of potential dysfunction. When this role is unnecessarily assigned, poorly designed, or maintained over time under stressful conditions, it can promote a kind of secondary deviance that overlays and obfuscates the individual's original difficulty.

At the same time the persons to be served by the agency constitute one of its most important sources of human energy for achieving organizational goals. It is these persons who do the real work of the people-changing organization. They either grow, learn, get well, become stabilized, or the agency's reason for being is unfulfilled. Thus the requirements of system maintenance as well as loyalty to human values make it important in any agency to scrutinize carefully the role provided for the persons to be served. Does the role as designed by the agency free the individual for constructive participation in his social world or does it further distort his social functioning?

If the membership in the agency provided for the person to be served is to be an effective tool for achieving social goals, then the agency must take at least as much care in designing that role as it does in specifying the activities of its employed workers. Two aspects of design are important: the general framework within which all the persons to be served "belong" to the agency; and the organizational processes that support and implement improvisation in role design for individual persons to be served.

For effective "people-changing" work the general design of the role should:

Enhance the worth of the individual for himself, in his personal community, and among those who represent the larger community to him.

Extend the range of decisions affecting the welfare of both himself and others in which he is expected to participate.

Deliberately modify and channel the stress inherent in the person-to-be-served role for the purposes of learning and growth.

Structure the role as transitional, varying the supports and the expectations as the person to be served moves through stages toward less need for service.

Provide for individualizing the organizational role, including both:

1. Classes of variations specifically designed for the different kinds of problems presented in the agency caseload; and

2. Significant areas within which decision-makers at the action level—workers, individuals to be served, and others—are free to improvise.

The way the organizational role of the person to be served is designed by the agency becomes increasingly crucial for effective social work the greater the stress inherent in the role and the more explicit the social disapproval and fear it represents. Stress and social disapproval do not always vary together, although often they do. Thus severe stress for the person and family experiencing a terminal illness may be accompanied by social support rather than by disapproval; while the role of the mentally ill person often contains large components of both stress and social withdrawal. In the correctional service role, stress is deliberately used by the community to express both strong disapproval and fear of the person. It is suggested that the more the stress of the organizational role is associated with social disapproval the more probable it is that that role will tend to be dysfunctional for the individual's later adjustment.

CASE ILLUSTRATIONS

Because the fields of mental hygiene and corrections are both dealing with persons to be served who arouse strong and frequently negative reactions from the community, we are presenting a case story from each to illustrate the potential dysfunctions of these roles.

1. As Bad as They Say I Am. This case summarizes the study of a sixteen year old Negro boy in a reformatory who moved during a period of twenty months from "model boy" to "worst hoodlum in the State's correctional system." The data has been selected to highlight how his experiences in a number of service roles have contributed to contraindicated changes in his way of perceiving social relations, his self-image, and his moral orientations. Additional data suggest how helping officials now tend to relate to him and the kinds of stress he experiences as a recipient of correctional service (DUKE MONTY).
2. As Sick as They Say I Am. This diagnostic interview was conducted with a twenty-four year old man who is awaiting commitment to a state mental hospital in a county hospital's emergency ward. He describes the process by which, through numerous treatment experiences, he has become a "professional patient," accepting this role as the only one in which he can be a "success." He also suggests the subtle fashion in which his role as patient has affected many other social experiences, causing them to reinforce his drive to become not only a full-time patient but a "committed" patient (ROBERT).

The two cases submitted here describe the end states of situations in which the organizational role for the person to be served has failed to be useful from the point of view of treatment goals. In each case changes have occurred over time in an undesirable direction; and in each the organizational service role as experienced by the individual has contributed to the secondary deviance now complicating the original problem. An analysis of the process by which Duke Monty became "As Bad as They Say I Am" and Robert became "As Sick as They Say I Am" could provide important clues to the dynamics by which any recipient of service role may instigate change and affect the direction of change.

In examining these cases we should keep in mind certain perspectives:

1. Each of these cases is the story of one individual's experience with the organizational role provided for him by one service system. Other individuals would undoubtedly have experienced the same role quite differently, as is indicated (only tangentially) by Monty's friend Pete, who has shared some of his experiences. In either case the individual's reaction to and use of the role appears to be of diagnostic value, of importance for planning variations in the role as it might be used in the treatment of either individual.

2. In Duke Monty's case no social worker appears, although officials who might have used social work methods enter the scene and take responsibility from time to time. However, the question raised by Monty's story does not seem to be simply that of "trained" personnel versus "untrained," since many processes outside the control of any individual helping person were at work to insure the undesirable outcome. The question posed by this case study is, rather, how might the agency and worker together have, at any given point of access, used the organizational service role to redesign Monty's relations with his community and to support his desire to "belong."

case study 1

"AS BAD AS THEY SAY I AM"

DUKE MONTY

I FIRST SAW Duke Monty at his initial classification meeting thirty days after his admission to the reformatory. At this meeting Monty and the top institutional administrative officers would confront each other for the first time and his role in the institution would be defined: the inmates with whom he would live, his security status, his work assignment, and his access to educational and treatment resources.

Twenty new inmates had been interviewed by the committee before Monty's name was reached on the list. Around the table sat a representative of institutional industry, the principal of the school, the chief of custody, the supervising psychologist, the superintendent of the institution, and his assistant. Before each new man was admitted to the room the committee discussed his background, his record, and the results of a study made during his first thirty days in the orientation unit, agreeing tentatively on a program for him. When each inmate entered the room he was interviewed by the superintendent, informed of his program, and given an opportunity to discuss it. It was evident that this staff group took time and cared. They listened with patience to objections and made what changes were feasible. The superintendent addressed some of the inmates as "son."

Monty was the first inmate to be discussed as "the enemy." This was his third institution in nine months. In the previous two he had been known as "the worst duke the State has had to deal with in years." He had just come to the reformatory, at age sixteen, with a new conviction, charged with a brutal sodomy attack against a fourteen-year-old boy. Because of his age he could not be transferred to the state prison.

As Monty entered the room and took his place at the table I saw a tall—six foot two—young Negro with a beautifully coordinated body and a kind of primitive dignity who "knew how to carry himself." The superintendent said, "This is an abominable thing you have done. We will not have that kind of thing here." "I did not do it, sir," said Monty. "We have heard that kind of talk before. Because of what you have done we are placing you on lock-in status[1]," said the superintendent. "You aren't giving me a chance to prove myself," said Monty. "You'll have plenty of chance to show what you are even on lock-in. If there is any sign that you are setting yourself up as duke we will put you on quarantine and keep you there as long as you stay," said the superintendent. "I heard that this institution was fair, that it tried to help a guy," said Monty. "Do you realize that you are here on a new charge which runs consecutively, not concurrently? You will be here a long time and you'll learn that we know how to deal with inmates like you," said the superintendent. Thus Monty's role as inmate in this institution was initially defined.

Monty's situation was dramatic even in the stark outlines of the official record.

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[1] Lock-in status: The inmate is locked in his cell during all unsupervised periods. He goes to mess, work, and recreation with the rest of the population.

Twenty months earlier he had been a model boy, living with his mother, sister, and stepfather in a decent working-class neighborhood. He got B grades at school, was on his high school swimming team, and went to the YMCA for recreation. Then the family moved closer to his stepfather's work, buying a home in one of the most disintegrated neighborhoods in a large city. Monty attended a junior high school notorious for its low morale, was recruited into a delinquent gang, and learned to drink, use reefers, and fight. He was arrested for mugging and sent, with his accomplices, to an institution for younger boys. There he became "duke of state" and with other "troublemakers" was transferred to an institution for delinquent youth. Four months later he was in court as an adult criminal, convicted of sodomy, and committed to the reformatory. As Monty was later to say, "Why me? Why this?"[2]

PERCEPTION OF SOCIAL WORLD AND THE ROLE OF THE PERSON TO BE SERVED

Nothing in life was as important to Monty as how people feel about him. He has experienced every role in terms of caring or indifference, love or hate.

Regarding his work supervisor:

> He don't have too much to say. Half the time he don't even seem to know you're there.

Regarding his fellows on the tier:

> It's funny you know, they don't care about nobody else. They doin' their time for themselves.

Regarding the reformatory superintendent:

> He makes me want to hit him. The way he smiles. I don't think he likes me, period.

Regarding his step-father:

> I used to think he didn't like me. All he did was lecture me. Then when they visited last week he said "What can I do, can I talk to the superintendent, can I get a lawyer for you?" Then something inside me began to hurt. I thought he didn't like me and here he was offering to spend money he couldn't afford. I went up to my room and laid on the bed. I remembered how when I was in high school he would say to people, "This is my son, he's on the swimming team." He was proud of me. Then I thought, "He was only trying to help me when he told me not to go out with that gang."

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[2] Through the next fourteen months Monty participated with me in the search for some of the answers. Many other persons were also interviewed in the process of trying to understand: Monty's family, the superintendent of the first institution, all officials in the reformatory who had dealings with Monty, his accomplice in the sodomy charge, and other inmates who lived on the same tier. Monty's interviews were tape-recorded. His statements have been edited only for clarity and sequence.

Regarding the staff at the first institution:

> I can't understand it. I thought the officers liked me. Maybe they reported different on me up to administration, but why didn't they say it to me?

Regarding the boys at the first institution:

> Some would introduce me to their parents—"This is Duke Monty, you should see him knock down so and so." I was their little idol. They used to look up to me.

Regarding the judge:

> He said, "You might as well confess now." As if he was busy, you know, and wants to get it over with. Then he said, "Take them away and bring them back next week." Just like that—take them away.

Left to himself to choose the topic of conversation, Monty raised problems of human caring and the role of the convict, a kind of Socratic dialogue in which he spoke now with the voice of one protagonist, now with another's.

> I would like to know just how the [classification committee] feels about these individuals in here. Do they really care? They couldn't care for these people (Why not?) They care for some people in here, but do they care for all of them? What do they care about them? They don't know them personally. Why should they care? Give me a reason why. "Because they're fellow men, they belong to humanity." That don't mean nothin'. But then again, say his son was to get locked up, they would care then, wouldn't they?. . . .Say you go to lunch and the woman next to you asks you what you do. What are the first words they say when they find out? "Oh, you go to that prison—how would you refer to it—that reformatory to see them men. Terrible! How are they? How can you go there? How can you deal with them people? They're a different class. They don't belong to humanity, the animals."

For most of his life Monty has equated being loved or rejected with being good or bad, but his recent experiences have not supported this formulation. Doing things his peers approved has caused him to be labeled bad by parents and officials:

> I wanted to be accepted, you know. I always cared about what other people say. When we moved to that neighborhood, you know, it was a different environment. They were doing certain other things. First the fellows didn't go for me, because I was different, a square. I had to get down with it.

And now that he is, with grueling effort, trying to be good as defined by officials, no one seems to notice:

> They just, you know—seems to me they forget about you in here if you're just being good, if you're not doing one thing or another. Seems like when people mess up in here, they notice them and they get more attention or something. If you don't do nothing, they forget about you, think you're jailwise, getting away with something.

He is learning painfully that the one-to-one relation between value and love on which he has always depended is not borne out by experience and that reality is much more complex.

> Some people say God said that everything that comes was meant for your own good. Right? Then I read this quotation right out of the Bible that say "The race is not always given to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, nor bread to the wise, or faith to the man of skill, for fate and chance come to us all." What does that mean? I've been analyzing that. All the interpretation I can get is that it can happen to anybody, you know.

Step by step Monty is settling for another definition of human relations.

> Self-preservation, that's all people believe in. That's the first thing they're concerned about. Theirself and nobody else. Then after theirself is well off, then they might look to help somebody else. But then they won't be helping out of kindness, there's always something behind their helping. If you go around this jail, maybe a fellow you know pretty well, you ask him for a cigarette. He give it to you, sure, why? It's the thought behind it, when he may need it, he can come back. That's the way I believe people think. Everybody turns it around to himself.

People are not linked by caring but by self-interest. And if this is so where is the meaning, why suffer this terrible vulnerability to feelings?

> I don't think no man knows what life is, period. You only live and then you die. Why is people just made to live, then die? What sense does it make? Are you supposed to account for something between birth and death? What?

SELF-IMAGE AND THE ROLE OF THE PERSON TO BE SERVED

Monty's self-image has been formed by the human relations available at different periods of his life. As he moved from being a good boy at home and in the first neighborhood to his current status as "dangerous convict," his sense of self and who he wants to be has changed to fit the changing expectations of others.

His first self-image belongs to the early days when he was a good boy.

> When I look at it, where we first lived, teachers used to pat me on the back. It wasn't grades you know. I was average. I worked hard in school, had hopes to be something. Just what I didn't know, but somebody, anything. Other guys would be out there playing ball. I used to be in the library reading. I didn't think about playing hookey. I played hookey one time, that was about in the fifth grade. Got a double whipping that day. After that, I never played hookey no more. I got so I was liking school, looked forward to the next day. My stepfather gave me money when I got A's and B's. The swimming coach said maybe I was good enough to get a sports scholarship to college. Then we moved.

The second image of himself has components of freedom, fun, admiration, and power, and stems from the days when he was rising to leadership in his delinquent gang. This self-image was ascendant both during the delinquent training period in the deteriorated neighborhood to which his family moved when he was age fourteen and during his stay in the first institution when he was "duke of state."

In the neighborhood:

> They were good times. There was a party every night. I wasn't used to that. It was something new, exciting. At that time I was young and I like to play a lot. That's all I mostly do, is play.

In the first institution:

> I didn't care about being duke. Pete, he kept saying, "Now you duke of state." I said, "So?" But it was fun you know, have recognition. That was good, you could say you was outstanding in something. People looked up to you.

In this self-image Monty did not dramatize himself as antagonistic to official authority. Rather he saw himself in this period as a sort of Robin Hood, as the protector of little guys, a hero, liked also by staff because he brought some order into cottage life.

> I don't believe that nobody can tell you—even with what people say I was back in that first institution—they can't say I was a bad fellow because a person needed anything, I don't care who he was, I was always helping. On visiting Sunday, when I get my stuff, my mother comes, she bring me a big package, all my friends come around and I just give the stuff out. One time, I had to go to court, and I had a visit that Sunday. I had a box full of chicken and stuff. I just left it there and told them to eat it. . . .I wanted it to be a peaceful cottage. It had kind of a bad reputation, the whole cottage. It was where they put the bad boys. I cleaned the cottage up for them.

Monty's third self-image emerged after he was transferred to the second institution as a "troublemaker."

> You take a considerable good boy, maybe he did wrong, he gets sent away, people condemn him, that's the turning point in his life you know. He figures he may as well go ahead and do these things. He may as well go ahead and be as bad as they say he is. . . .My reputation had gone ahead when they shifted me to the second institution. I was kind of mad and thought I may as well live up to it now. Just messin' with people. Hit the boy over the head. When the man get nasty with me I get nasty right back. He moved in with fresh words, harsh words, and I said the same thing right back, you know. And there we go off on the wrong foot.

Monty is clear that in the second institution he was a bad actor, intensely hostile toward staff, free with his mouth in protest against everything, using his boxing ability to push the other boys around. There was a nightmare quality about this period for him.

> I didn't tell the truth and it didn't even bother me. Everytime I turned around they were yelling my name out—do that, stop that. I used to go to bed and I couldn't sleep. I'd take pills to calm my nerves. (Where did you get pills?) There was a boy supposed to take them. He didn't take them. I said give me the

> pills. It used to help me sleep a little—[long pause]—I stopped going to church up there. I didn't care about nothin'.

In his present role as a convicted adult offender, for which success is defined by officials and peers as "doing your own time," Monty's picture of himself and his future is bleak.

> So the only thing I am worried about now is my own self. I don't care about other people. Nobody cares about me. I don't care about them. I'm going up that ladder and it don't matter whose hands I step on on the way up. That's the way it is.

In this sequence of self-images there is a common element of striving for recognition as somebody special. But the images are miles apart in mood: the good boy, the carefree fun-lover, the bad actor, the ruthless climber. Monty's friend Pete gave him a clue to his swings of mood:

> We was talking about something that meant a lot. I didn't understand at the time. He was telling me the trouble with me, I get my hopes up too high, then things don't work out, I fall heavy. He was right. I do do that.

The withdrawal of love as a part of his current roles has had a paralyzing effect that is reflected in Monty's current self-image.

> To tell you the truth, I don't find nothing to be happy for. When you're in here, it don't seem like you're living, you're existing, you know? Just hanging on. . . . Seems like I can't get interested in nothing no more. . . .Sometimes I can't even believe in myself. . . .The way I feel now, I don't need nobody. Feel about fifty, tired, I feel old all over, like an old man.

MORAL ORIENTATIONS AND THE ROLE OF THE PERSON TO BE SERVED

Family, peer, school, and correctional roles have interacted in Monty's life to intensify the value conflict in which he is still caught.

Until he was nearly fifteen years old Monty lived in an environment where all the people who mattered to him shared a similar value system. His "no good" father left the home when Monty was two and his mother boarded him with friends while she did domestic work. When he was old enough to go to school his mother took him to live with her and did day work. The mother tells with pride about his dependable behavior when she was not there to supervise him and his trustworthiness in running errands. "He was always biddable and nice around the house, doing the dishes for me and like that. He was my 'little man.' I could send him all over town by himself. He always came right back and brought the correct change." His friends were children of his mother's friends in the neighborhood, all held to similar family schedules as a matter of course.

> The boys I hung out with, you know, most of them, their families were like mine. Both parents were working. They had enough. They tried to keep their children in school, wanted them to get the best, I think. (Did you and your friends steal in those days?) A little. Five and ten, you know, apples. Little

> things like that. (Hubcaps?) At that time we didn't know hubcaps were worth anything.

Summer vacations were spent at Y camps and the family was proud of the good reports on Monty's behavior. Shortly after his mother's remarriage, when Monty was eleven, he had a light case of polio and was away from home for nearly a year at a convalescent camp. His mother reports he was a glowing success with both staff and children. When Monty returned he moved into the extended family related to his stepfather. His stepfather's brother was a policeman who took a special interest in Monty, continuing his muscle training by teaching him to use dumbbells. As Monty started high school with the children of the same neighborhood, the approval of the swimming coach and the teachers continued to support his assumption that affection came his way easily so long as he followed an accustomed pathway where the lines were clear.

> Everything was going all right for me then. I was young then you know, running with my own age. I knew the difference between right and wrong. I didn't have larceny in my heart, you know. I didn't think about doing nothing wrong.

A good boy, an attractive boy, a boy who was perceived as able to take the next upward step for a family with goals, a boy who had not been tested as yet by the complexities of independent choice.

When the test came it was about as complicated as it could be. The family moved to another city, partly to get closer to the stepfather's work, partly because the landlord where they were renting objected to small children after Monty's half sister was born. Although both parents had been working, their savings were limited and the only inexpensive property available to Negroes in the city to which they were moving was in the heart of a seriously deteriorated neighborhood. There the parents set up an island of middle-class thrift, prim virtue, order, and cleanliness in the midst of a lower-class culture with extensive delinquent components. Monty was immediately faced with a situation in which most expectations outside the home were in conflict with his parents' values; in which also the outer world was characterized by conflict and discontinuity. For Monty there were now many voices saying "Do this, don't do that."

According to both Monty and his parents, the first shock was administered at the school. It was a junior high school[3] notorious in the State for its disorder and for the indifference between teachers and pupils. His mother said: "As you walked down the halls, you'd see boys standing and feeling girls, kissing and hugging right in the halls and the teachers not caring one bit." His stepfather: "I went into this classroom and there they were sitting, boy and girl, reading a book together with their arms around each other while the teacher just sat reading a newspaper." Monty said: "You should see what kind of a school that is. Always beating up the little fellows, fighting in the hallways, raping girls. I didn't know how to fight and I kept getting beat up and having my lunch money taken away." Monty attracted the attention of a group of older boys who hung around outside the school. They protected him and taught him how to take care of himself in this rough and tumble world where survival depended on ability to fight. It is questionable that Monty perceived his new friends as delinquents at first. They were quite simply the only ones who seemed to care about him in a frightening new world.

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[3] Note that Monty had previously attended a high school as a freshman.

Monty said: "They kept asking me to go mugging with them. I said no, I wouldn't have nothing to do with that." But soon after he moved into the school Monty accepted the blame for a stolen watch taken by one of his new friends. His mother said, "I always told Monty 'never admit to something you didn't do. You be truthful what you did do, but bite out your tongue before you say you did something you didn't do.' This is a weakness in him. He says, 'Okay, they say I did it, I did it,' and then he closes up his mouth and won't talk."

Monty and his stepfather got into arguments because of the kind of clothes Monty wanted to wear. The stepfather said: "I refused to buy cheap gang style suits with tight pants and a flare at the cuff. I would get him a $40 or $50 suit and then Monty would slit up the seams on the inside and put in extra pieces to make them bell-shaped." Monty said:

> I stole $10 from my stepfather because I wanted some clothes like the other guys wore. He had it put away in his shirt box. I didn't spend it, you know. I felt bad about it and put it in a place where he could find it. He knew I took it, called the police, had me locked up in detention. When I went to court they put me on probation.

The stepfather said:

> He even started stealing from me. (What did you do?) I took him to the cops, of course.

The mother said:

> Now if we wouldn't give him money for just what he wanted he would say to us, "O.k. I can get it easy like these friends of mine do." So I told him, "O.k. Monty you do it that way and you'll go to jail. I won't even visit you. If you go stealing, then you'll be in trouble, and that will be your hard luck."

All the family patterns were antagonistic to the way of life of his peer group. The mother said:

> So here we sit down at 6 o'clock, the whole family together to eat, and Monty would be in for his meal, but the minute he was through he would be up and off with this gang. Now we're not that kind of people. My children always know where we are, we are always home, and everybody in this family is in bed at 10 o'clock. We neither of us ever drink or smoke. We all help with the work. The boys out there used to laugh at Monty because he did the dishes for me. . . . I always told Monty he could bring nice friends here, but not this gang he was running with.

Monty learned to drink and use reefers. The mother said:

> The trouble started right in that house across the street in the upstairs flat. There's a woman there, she don't have no father for her children. She has a bar in the living room and a bed and a television, and she lets all the kids come, the boys and the girls, and she never sends them home. Monty has come home from there a lot of times so drunk he could hardly stand. I went to see her myself. I told her she should be ashamed of herself. I told her not to let Monty come there, but she just laughed at me. She kept telling Monty he

> shouldn't bother about minding his stepfather. She said, "After all, he's only your stepfather." I told that woman that she, an adult, oughtn't to talk that way to a child. After all, my children have a roof over their heads because my husband is providing for them and it is his responsibility to correct and chastise them. She said to me, "I would never let any man lay a hand on a child of mine."

Early after the move Monty became deeply involved with an older girl.

> She was nice, a good girl, you know. She's going to a nice high school now. At first it was a small case of liking, you know. When I went out with her I didn't go with the gang, just her and me. She tried to get me to stop drinking. (Did she know about your mugging?) She learned about it after a while. She tried to make me stop—[long pause]. If I tell you something you probably won't believe it. (Why not try me?) The same night my gang went out on the last job, they got caught. I wasn't with them, the police picked me up the next day because one guy said I was with them. The reason I didn't go, I promised her I was going to stop. It was too late then. I was implicated in too many others.[4]

Although this girl friend actually supported some of the parents' values, Monty's mother is deeply antagonistic to her.

> There's this little girl Monty got tied up with soon after we moved. She was always a bad influence on him. That first summer we sent him to the Y camp and they sent him home at the end of two weeks. They said he wouldn't do anything while he was there so he might as well come home. He said he had an infection on his hand but I know it was this little girl who had such a hold over him. I know what they were doing together too. The filthy things she wrote him in letters no nice girl would even know about. (Did Monty show you her letters?) No, I found them when I was cleaning his room. He was very angry when he knew I had read them. I went to her mother and told her to keep that girl away from my Monty. She said, "Well, we'll talk about it and discuss it later" but she never did nothing about it.
>
> Monty said: "I love her. Her parents liked me, they were nice to me." (Did you go to bed together?) "Yes. We planned to get married." (Weren't you afraid you might have a baby?) "Most of the time I don't think about the future. That's the way I used to be. What happens will happen, that's the way I used to think."

Meanwhile Monty was making headway with his gang. He was involved in a fight and hit much harder than he intended so his opponent was injured as he fell.

The stepfather said:

> Monty shot up so he was taller than most of the boys and stronger than he knew. You can tell when three or four boys are standing around together, when each of them speaks about one person, that is the one they're afraid of and look up to for protection. When I saw Monty with other guys on the street I knew he was this kind of leader among them.
>
> Monty said:

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[4] The mother confirms that Monty was home on the night this particular mugging occurred.

> I didn't know nothing about boxing, nothing at all. I learnt though. And I was better than the rest of them.

The crisis came when Monty was expelled from school. Monty said: "I couldn't get along with the teachers in school. They was picking on me or else I was picking on them. I don't know how I got by as long as I did. It wasn't too long and they kicked me out." He was told at the end of the ninth grade that he would be promoted to high school if he went to summer school. The mother said:

> Somehow we were never told about that. We arranged for him to go to Y camp for the summer to get him off the streets. After the summer he went on to high school and he was settling down and starting to study. There were things for him to do, like swimming, and he was going out for football. Then just after he got started, a woman from the schools came to talk to me about where he was, and I told her how well he was doing. She told me she would never do anything to disturb him at high school if he was settling down and doing well, but the next day he was yanked out of high school and sent back to junior high. The second day he was there he told me, "Mommy, the school man came to me and took my books away and said I was to get working papers." We tried to find out what this was all about, we even went to our councilman and he telephoned. We never heard from him or the school again.

It was at this point, when Monty had been extruded from the roles appropriate for his age and developmental stage, that the probation officer became active. For the first time Monty's role as deviant to be reformed began to be defined in official action. This is how Monty remembers it:

> (What kind of a guy was your probation officer?) Hard man to get along with. (In what way?) He was kind of strict. Wants you to abide by his rules—[voice full of hate]—"Git a job, report every week." When you come down, he wanted to know every detail, everything you did during the week. Then he start having me report every day. (Why was that?) I wasn't working or nothin'. He knew I was hanging out with a bad crowd. I had to go there and lie to him. (You didn't like him?) Well, him personally, I didn't have nothing against him. He was a pretty nice man, but you know, his attitude—sticking by the rules and regulations. He'd try to be slick, you know. Try to cross-examine you and catch you in a lie—[with bitterness]—tried to use weak psycho[5], tried to get you to lie on yourself. (What would you have liked him to do?) Well, some of the things I said was true. I was trying to find a job. Maybe if he'd get me a job, it would have turned out different.

Although Monty looked for work in a desultory fashion he was actually on the streets most of the time:

> At that time it was beneath my pride to work. My gang was on the corner, not working. See, guys that work, they supposed to be wrong, they don't know what they're doing. The guy that's not working is on easy street. He has a car and money in his pocket, nice clothes, has a good time too, you know.

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[5] Weak psycho: Inmate term for professional interviewing. Implies trickery on the part of the helper for goals not accepted by the interviewee.

> They kept saying "Come along, get some easy money." I went with them once and there I was with $200 in my pocket for just one night. I could buy some clothes and things.

Monty quickly lost his initial hesitation and began to take pleasure in mugging as an exercise of skill.

> At first I didn't like to knock a man down when it wasn't a fight. Then it was a kind of game, you know, taking turns to see who could do the cleanest knockout. We went every Friday and Saturday night, sometimes only three or four of us, sometimes more. Those nights we didn't drink or smoke reefers. We'd go to streets where we thought we could find people with money. We would pick a guy by whether or not he looked like he had money, we could tell by his clothes and the way he walked. Sometimes we only got $20 and quit, other times we were in luck. You could feel when we were in luck, you know. If we kept seein' cops then it wasn't our night and we quit. Other times we could feel it was goin' good, you know, and we would take one man after another.

Now, months later, Monty seems to feel neither regret for his victims nor guilt about his mugging. It was as though the men he attacked were dummies on whom he had practiced knockout blows and whose wallets contained more or less prize money.

> (I couldn't tell when you were talking about your mugging how you felt about doing it.) I knew it was wrong, all right, but in a sense I didn't care. (What did you think about yourself?) I needed the money, that's all. Muggin', it's the only thing I know. I don't know anything else.

What Monty does feel about this behavior is remorse for the shame he has brought on his family, and despair about what he has done to his own life.

> They ain't the kind of family that's got someone they have to go see in jail, you know. There's a lady my mother knows around the corner. She was telling my mother her son is a good boy. Just like she was telling my mother "Look at your son, where he is.". . . I can't never make up for these years out of my life. Every day I'm here, I can't live over again.

More important for understanding Monty's value system is the fact that he does experience a kind of torment because he is charged by the authorities with two kinds of delinquent behavior that he insists he did not commit simply because his own moral code would not permit him. What seems to hurt Monty most is that he is identified by the outside world as a pressure artist[6] who exploited little kids, and as a sodomist. The heart of his value crisis lies in this conflict between his official identity and his own self-image.

Monty's concerns are different for the two kinds of charges. He admits he was duke of state in the first institution and that some of his activities could have looked to officials as though he was a pressure guy. He claims, however, that his actual way of working was to protect the little boys rather than to exploit them and that his reputation has misrepresented both his motives and his actual behavior. In connection with the charge of sodomy, however, Monty claims categorically to be innocent both of this charge and of the homosexual practices common in the group to which he now belongs.

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[6] Pressure; Inmate term meaning exploitative stress deliberately applied to a peer for some gratification: e.g., sexual intercourse, "goodies," etc.

Duke of State: In the first institution Monty was in the "bad boy" cottage by his own choice, having been scheduled for another cottage during his orientation period. He asked to be assigned to this cottage because it was filled with boys from his own neighborhood: "You almost feel like it was home there." His prowess in boxing was already established among these boys. When the reigning duke of his cottage went home Monty acceded to his position. Because he was duke of the "baddest" cottage he became "duke of state" although he had no informal or formal relationship with the dukes of other cottages. He was officially seen as duke for only three months, of which thirty days were spent in lock-up because he had run away. Shortly after Monty was released from isolation a number of older boys, including Monty, were transferred to the second institution.

The official record from this first institution confirms Monty's impression that he was seen favorably by staff until after he ran away. The psychological report written during Monty's orientation period speaks of him as a boy of "moderate emotional instability" and recommended that he be placed in the "better cottage." At the end of his first month he was described by cottage supervisors as "a good worker whose feelings are easily hurt and who likes things done right," although one custody report noted that Monty "could be duke stock if not checked." At the end of the fourth month his teachers said, "Monty is under tension trying to control his aggressiveness," and the summary just before his first furlough reported that he had shown no behavior difficulties and no evidence of the assaultive attitudes attributed to him at the time of his commitment, although he "lacks initiative and motivating interests."

What happened between January 6th, the date of the favorable summary, and June 15th, when the psychiatrist of the second institution wrote of Monty that "we are dealing here with an aggressive type of sociopathic personality with a well-established pattern of assaultive behavior of a dangerous nature such as to render him clearly a liability in any but a maximum security institution" is not just Monty's story. It reveals also the deep-lying conflict between the two sets of roles available to Monty in the institution: those rewarded by his peers and those expected in relation to staff.

Monty's report of the duke system in the first institution was drawn from him piece by piece. He showed none of that spontaneous pleasure in describing his manipulations evidenced by many inmates who work the angles. In fact, Monty has a good deal of contempt for the fuss that was made about being duke.

> You know, Pete was the one who wanted me to be duke. I used to tell him, I didn't want to mess with nobody. He say, "As soon as Antoine leave, you be first duke." I say, "So?" He say, "You be first duke. Think, you be duke of state!! That means duke of the whole institution." Soon as Antoine left, he got happy. He say, "You duke of state now." (What did you think about it?) I didn't feel no different. I didn't see nothin' being duke of state. I felt the same.
>
> That institution—you hear a lot of bad rumors that ain't true you know. The boys—they exaggerate it. They want to make it seem badder. They want to put the impression on theirselves that they came from a tough institution. That means they tough too, you know. And as the rumors go along, they build up. . . . It's the little boys that started the rumors going around. They exaggerate so much. They tell how many people I knocked down. "I've seen him knock so-and-so down, I've seen him knock five boys down"—[long pause]—When my cottage

would be going to the mess hall, the little boys would be coming out. They used to all come over and say hello to me. The officers in front of the mess hall could look right out on us. I don't know what they made of it—[long pause]—I like little boys. When I have a kid, that's what I want, a little boy—[long pause] Maybe I did do a little strong-arming. Sometimes I want to give them a cigarette, you know, and I don't have none. Some cat has some cigarettes in the cottage, you know, so I ask him for one. He says no, and I says [in a loud voice] "Give me a cigarette or I'll knock you down" and they give me one then. But I ain't smoked it, you know, I gave it away. . . .You see most of them were just little kids there. Some of the big guys they kept messing with the little kids—canteen and sex. I don't like to see little kids get messed around with. I know how it feels, I had it done to me when we moved to the new neighborhood. I told the guys to lay off. Sometimes I had to fight with them and then I got a reputation. (How?) You fight a guy who has a reputation, you know, when you lick him his reputation passes to you. I didn't have to fight a lot, just the biggest ones. . . .I didn't like to see a boy get taken advantage of, you know. Some boys like sex, you know, so I didn't say nothin' but if they exploited a boy, I tried to prevent it. There was this boy in the cottage—the boys was bothering him you know, for sex, you know. I told them to leave him alone, but any time I wasn't there they bothered him. There wasn't nothing I could do for him, so I told him to get a transfer. I tried to help the boy. That's why when I got this sodomy charge, one of the officers from that first institution came up to see me, he said he was surprised at me because I'd never messed around with anything like that.

(What could you do because you were duke?) Almost anything. If we didn't want to go some place, you know, we were supposed to go, I'd say we wouldn't go and the cottage was behind me. That's what a duke's for. Every duke works different, some of them just bullies. (Can you tell me more how you work?) I was just there, just like the rest. Like sometimes, you know, we were supposed to sing as we were going to mess. The cats wouldn't sing and I told them to sing. Things like that. On Sundays when the visitors come up, you're supposed to march right then. I wouldn't tell them they had to, I just asked them to march right, and they'd march—[long pause]—I didn't go out to be duke you know. I was just one of them. We was together. . . .I had a little soft seat by the television. The boy who took over being duke when I ran away, he took my seat. He was getting all the programs he wanted on it, and telling the others to shut up, you know. The way we worked it, I used to have them raise their hands, you know, majority rule. (If you had all this power why didn't you use it to get things for yourself?) I didn't need to. If I needed money my folks gave it to me, brought me stuff on Sunday. One day a week they had cake, you know. Some boys thought it was fun to take it away from little guys so they never got any. If I was going to steal cake I took it from the line, you know, take my own chance. . . .I got a reputation with the staff for organizing things. Sure I organized it—I cleaned up the cottage for them and the little guys was getting along better. . . .I had a good record for about five or six months. (Yes, I've seen that in your record.) But when they get ready to shift you to another institution, they exaggerate a bit, you know. They gotta have a reason for doing it.

There was a distinct change in the way Monty played his role as duke after he ran away and was placed in lock-up for thirty days. Monty had earned his first furlough and had returned to the institution only a week before he ran away.

> (Can you tell me why you ran away?) Got homesick—[long pause].—There was rumors about that they were transferring boys. I was the duke of the cottage, you know, and I heard some rumors my name was on the list to go. It got all mixed up, you know, mixed up together and I just wanted to leave.

He was gone ten days, roaming around his home neighborhood. Then his mother sent word through a friend that she wanted to see him, and called his stepfather, who took him to the police.

> (What happened when you got back to the institution?) Locked me up for thirty days. Seemed like after that I just started getting into trouble. I had an argument with an officer about a tie. Some graduation or sumpin'. We had to go and watch and we had to wear a tie and I wouldn't put my tie on. Then I put it on sloppy and he told me to fix it. I told him it's fixed, then he got mad and told me he was goin' to knock me down. He told me, you know, we cussed at each other. He had me put back in lock-up. Later they said I instigated a strike against going to the baseball game. (Did you?)[With resentful contempt] I didn't have nothing to do with that. I was just sittin' there. The way I figured, if nobody else wasn't going to move, I wasn't gonna move. So the man asked them to line up. Everybody say they don't feel like playing baseball, then the man looked at me. He say, "You goin' to play baseball?" I say, "I'm with the crowd" so I sat there too. If I'd a moved the rest would have moved. I figured I wasn't going if they don't want to go anyplace.

Changes in the official system coincided with the change in Monty's attitudes toward staff and his increasing hostility reflected the change in the way he was defined officially. An interview with the superintendent of the first institution revealed that during the first months of Monty's stay the superintendent was new, learning the ropes while planning his reforms. During these months the institution continued to be run by the "dukes," supported by a staff who were accustomed to lax controls and seldom reported misbehavior. About the time of Monty's first furlough the superintendent began to crack down on staff carelessness. He also received approval from the state office to send all boys over a certain age to the more severe institution for older delinquents. Monty heard about the impending transfer, ran away, and was severely punished when he returned. As he re-entered the population after his thirty days in isolation he found his role as duke defined as "bad" by the staff that had previously depended on him for maintaining order. His old techniques with his peers no longer worked once staff resources were withdrawn, and as duke his behavior symbolized the hostilities of all his fellows. The sit-down strike at the baseball game established once and for all for administration that he was a key person in an antagonistic inmate system. He and others were shipped off to the next institution no longer defined as "older boys" but as "troublemakers."

The Sodomist: The facts about Monty's general behavior in the second institution are much clearer and Monty's report agrees with that of the staff. Here Monty was no longer duke. Pete was his partner for canteen but there is no evidence in the record or in the stories from either Monty or Pete that Monty was leading the group in anti-institutional behavior. All the discipline incidents reveal Monty as acting on his own: hitting a boy over the head with a tray in order to take a checker game from him; cussing out an officer because he had received a bad work mark. If Monty had stayed longer in the second institution he might well have established a leadership through fear:

> I had about four fights the first week I was there. They knew about my reputation and I had to take them on.

Staff had also heard about him; and the report from the reception cottage includes the comment: "Has already started strong-arming for canteen." Both inmate system and staff system had been alerted that this was a bad actor and ranks were closed against him.

The only established facts of the sodomy charge are these. A fourteen-year-old signed a statement describing in detail how Monty and Pete took turns holding him down while the other committed the sexual act. This statement is in the official record. Although the institution could have requested the transfer of both boys to the reformatory, administration followed the unusual course of taking them to the court on a new charge, perhaps because Monty refused to confess.[7] The boys were handled in an adult criminal proceeding, but although Monty was only sixteen, no legal counsel was provided and Monty's parents were not notified until after he had been transferred to the reformatory. Pete acknowledged his responsibility for the act from the first, but Monty denied the charge up to the time of the court hearing, then pled guilty, and has continued to deny his participation in the act ever since.

Both Pete and Monty agree on added details. The fourteen-year-old was well known as a homosexual and was consistently exploited by the older boys in this institution. He had just been returned to the institution from a period of psychiatric observation in a diagnostic clinic to which he had been referred, according to the story among the boys, for study of the homosexual problem. This particular act occurred in the washroom just after a wash-up period. Pete acknowledged committing sodomy with the boy but states that it was at the boy's invitation, "If you want it, meet me in the washroom." Pete was alone in the act. Pete and Monty were confronted by a mussed-up boy in the early hours of the next morning and beaten to make them confess.

For Monty the horror-filled night when he was accused of sodomy was a blur of feeling:

> Those people beat me and beat me. Those big guys, big hands, beating me with judo chops on the back of my neck. But they wasn't beating me just to make me confess or something. It seemed like they had their own personal resentment toward me, hate towards me they were getting off their chest.

Pete was more dryly observant although he too had been put through the mill.

> It was about 2 o'clock when they hauled me out of bed, knocked me down. Then they brought in this kid, he was red and crying, kinda messed up. The sodomy was supposed to have happened at seven thirty the morning before and the kid wasn't still crying from that. They said, "Are these the guys that done it?" and he said yes. When a kid is scared and gets beat up, then he tells what he thinks the man[8] wants to hear.

According to Monty and Pete, they were told at court that if Monty did not plead guilty the matter would be taken to the grand jury and the fullest adult penalty would be meted out to them both. Efforts were made to impugn Pete's testimony by urging him to admit that he was taking the rap because of fear of retaliation from Monty.

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[7] There is no explanation of this decision in the official record.

[8] The man: General inmate term for official, often used to refer to a custody officer.

> When Pete, he went to court, he admitted to it. He told the judge I wasn't there. He say he did it alone. The judge didn't believe him, he think Pete ascared of me. They think he taking the blame for me. First thing they asked him, "Are you scared of this boy here? Do you want to talk to me in private and tell me anything?" Things like that. There was something down there in the record about Pete is under my influence. (What did Pete say?) [Contemptuously] He ain't scared of me.
>
> They treated me as though I was guilty before I got there, before anything was said, I was guilty. But the thing that just keeps coming to me, I wonder why this was me, why me? I changed my mind about the boy, what I was going to do to him after I got out. But I would like to talk to the boy, just ask him why did you say that, you know? Why did you say me? If only I could ask him that question. But to tell you honestly, I feel people made him say that. That's the way I believe. When they brought the boy to me, he looked all scared, they say is this the one, you know. "Is this the one here?" The boy was scared. "Well, is it?" "Yes, sir, that's him." Then as soon as he said that, they took him out, you know. Start beating on us again. Boy said it was, the man said they was going to beat us to confess. Then I wouldn't confess. I mean I understand they suspected me of strong-arming and this and that, but I guess this is the way they were getting back at me. That's the only way I can figure it out, this is the way they were getting back at me. . . . I went up to the committee and they say, "Did you do it?" I say, "No, sir." They say, "We know you did it and we're going to convict you. You don't want to confess, we're taking you to court." Like I was a dog eating on a chicken. . . .You know that I believe if I was to get away I'd have killed all those people that there moment when they was beating on me. All I wanted to do was to kill them. . . .Cursing, "Think you're a tough guy." Then I come back from court, "You're lucky, kid, you're lucky." Lucky for what? The judge, that was the one that got next to me, the judge. He sitting there. "Didn't do it, huh?" Tried to scare me. "If you don't confess I'll have to take it to the grand jury and a charge like this could carry considerable time. You might as well confess now." As if he was busy you know, and wants to get it over with. "Just confess and let me get this over with."

And later again:

> Seemed like they could have sent me up here on something else, you know. Maybe strong-arming, anything you know, assault, planting hacksaw blades. No. Nothing like that. It had to be sodomy, you know. They just didn't want to give me a lesser charge— [long pause]. My life has been short and hard, you know. pretty hard— [pause]. People wonder why a guy change. You understand why I think like I do now? I ain't going to put myself in a position no more for people to just run over me. I made that mistake in the past before.

Whether or not Monty was guilty of this homosexual act he does not perceive himself as this kind of person. He said:

> As for sex, that's not my field. Each guy learns his own and sticks to it. (Don't most of the boys you know experiment with homosexual activities?)

> Quite a few of them. (You probably experimented somewhere along the line?) No, ma'am. (Would you tell me if you had?) I may as well tell you. They can't do nothing else to me. Don't get me wrong. It came across my mind, you know. (I'm sure it must have. It comes across most boys' minds.) Especially when you've been locked up quite a while. (What do you do about sex?) Masturbate, I guess. (Why not have sex play with other guys? Is it too dangerous?) It isn't the point of dangerous—it's—just looking [pause] [with strong feeling] and it's another man. . . .I talked about it with my girl friend when I was out on furlough. Told her what I saw at the first institution. I promised her I wouldn't do nothing like this.[9]

The process of Monty's "becoming" a subject for correctional attention involved the gradual stripping away of less well-established values by his exposure at a crucial developmental stage to severe conflict among available roles, restriction of opportunity for the practice of legitimate values, and inconsistent distribution of rewards. At no point, apparently, was his role as a person to be served structured to make value-oriented behavior possible and rewarded. As Monty said,

> Just like you keep trying one thing—you keep trying to jump over the fence. The fence is too high. You keep trying. After a while you say, "I'm going to give up." Try to find some other way. You mean somebody's going to stand there all his life and keep trying to jump over when it's too high?. . . Maybe some—there are some people, pretty decent people, in this world, but on the whole the world ain't no good. If you want something out there, you have to go out and get it for yourself. You can't depend on nobody.

OFFICIAL DECISION-MAKERS AND THE ROLE OF THE PERSON TO BE SERVED

No official ever seems to feel neutral about Monty, and each official person tends to see him as either the best or the worst. We have already noted that the early staff reports from the first institution revealed a friendly awareness of Monty as an individual, unusual in such official records; while the report from the second institution bristles with suspicion and hostility from the first entry about this transferred "Duke of State." Now, in the reformatory, one custody officer, Monty's work supervisor, and his social adjustment teacher feel warmly toward Monty; while a second custody officer, the psychologist, and the assistant superintendent are wary and distrustful of him.

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[9] The general culture of the Negro boys in the area from which Monty was committed to the institution is reportedly very relaxed about homosexual behavior in the teen-age period. One is expected to take sexual gratification wherever one can get it. According to the assistant superintendent, who has listened to many of these boys, the general attitude is "It's nature, man." They tend to be introduced to sexual practices at an early age and to experiment with all forms. Pete is a natural member of this subculture, with a long history of delinquency and a family background full of social problems. He talked matter-of-factly with the researcher about his act of sodomy, and was relatively undisturbed about his lock-in status because "if I want it I can get it on the movements." Movement: Passage of the population from one activity to another.

The first custody officer:

Monty is different from the other guys on the wing. He's clean, keeps himself clean and his cell clean. He's very polite, says yes sir and no sir, and never shows any resentment when I have to lock him in his room. . . .Monty, he was supposed to be locked in all the time and every chance I had to get in there I would lock him. But what I mean is, he seemed like the type that was trustworthy. I'd say to him, "I have to run upstairs, I've got 50 guys waiting" —he'd go right down to his room, because he belonged there, and I could lock him later. I told Monty I could trust him. . . .I wrote on his report to classification that he should get out of lock-in status. I had no reason to suspect any of those doings, you know. He's always been clean and quiet. In other words, if anybody deserves it, he deserved it.

The second custody officer:

Well, Monty, I think he thinks he is cute. He's very quiet and he's one of those that is hard to figure out. He stays in the clear. I don't know what would happen if I would step on his toes. Then he might blow up and there's no telling what he might do. He's one of those who is close-mouthed so you can't tell what he would do if he blew. That looks suspicious to me and I suspect that if some other inmate was going to be strong-armed, Monty would be right in line for his share. He's kind of sneaky. You don't know where he is.

The school teacher:

He hasn't been in class very long, but he's one whose name and face I remember. He hasn't participated much but I get the impression that he's interested and enjoying it. There's something about him, his good looks or something, that makes you remember him.

The work supervisor:

He's got the makings of a good citizen if he's willing. He seems to have mechanical ability and he's a good workman. He has what it takes to be a good employee. [Later the work supervisor assigned Monty to his most trusted position in the shop, in charge of supplies.]

The psychologist:

Monty is hard to understand. Last group session he led off with talk about how superior a life of crime is, said he was going to be a pimp and let the women take care of him. Sometimes he sits there full of hate for me, simply closes up and glowers. He watches the reactions of the other inmates and refuses to say anything in the group that would indicate that he could relate positively to a staff member. Once he told the group I was the best conner[10] he knew and asked me if I would teach him how. I think of him as a skillful conner, who has little ability to relate on a sincere footing with anyone. He's more interested in group therapy as a way to get a reduction in time than in any effort to change himself.

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[10] Conner: Confidence man, manipulating other people's needs for selfish interests.

Thus not even the person to be served role offers Monty a stable identity, only an uncharted world of personal feelings lacking in consistency or clear value orientation.

STRESS AND THE ROLE OF THE PERSON TO BE SERVED

Monty experiences the inmate role as actual suffering. The suspension of meaningful relationships and the loss of freedom involved in "doing time" is a kind of living pain from which he escapes only by sleeping.

> I do hard time. Sometimes I think I will go crazy. Some guys can do time. I don't know how they do it. They just relax and let things go by. They think of this place as the street. Being here is like being on the street for them. I can't do that. . . .Every day I'm here I can't live over again. . . .Mostly I try to sleep. . . .I feel unhappy all the time. I mean I try to be agreeable with people and may smile, but I don't feel like smiling. . . .See, it's a strain on people. Freedom is very important, very important. Even when you catch an animal and put him in a cage or something they fight to try and get out. Don't nothing want to be locked up. . . .Can I ask you a question? (Of course.) Do you find these interviews helpful? I mean do you understand the situation of people locked up? (You wonder if I can?) Well, people who've never been locked up, you know, they can only imagine how it is, but they can't really understand it without experiencing it.

He has particular trouble in tolerating the indeterminate sentence and in understanding the process by which the classification committee determines the length of stay in the institution.

> When you don't know your time yet, it's hard on you. You don't know just when that date is. I believe that if people just sentenced you and didn't give no time, you know, just to stay until they get ready to let you go, I believe a lot of people would go insane. After you get your time,[11] you know, it's definite. You just living for that last day. . . .I mean, with some of these people if they didn't get locked up, the world would be pretty messed up. I understand they got to get locked up. But what I want to know is how the committee can sit there and know when you are rehabilitated. "We don't feel this man is stable, give him some more time." "This man might make it out there, let him go." They figure that way don't they? "Give this man 24 months." They vote on your time like they voting for president or something, they vote. "I say this man should get 24, another say he should get 18." They add it up. They come out to a certain number. How do they know?

In his last interview he sees some value in doing time.

> I have benefited from being here. (Have you really? Can you tell me how?) Lots, I mean as far as my behavior, my outlook on life, things like that, changed all together— [pause]. It's just something in you, when you get all this time, you can look at yourself, you know, analyze yourself. Lots of things I did in the past, I was looking at them you know, see there were mistakes, something foolish. I think to myself, I've matured more. It just seems as though I've gone as far in here as I am going to go.

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[11] Time (in this sense): Date for release on parole.

Characteristically Monty tries to find the human meaning for the correctional system of which, as a person to be served, he has been a part. His last question to the researcher was:

> I wonder whose idea—who ever invented the jail? Who first started locking people up? (You might be interested to know it was an attempt to make things better. A hundred and fifty years ago they killed people for stealing even a dollar or so. What do you think ought to be done when people go mugging?) They should go somewhere—[pause]. Why do people commit crimes? Maybe when we get to that we won't have neither killings or jails. Everybody can be free.

case study **2**

"AS SICK AS THEY SAY I AM"

ROBERT

ALL WE KNOW about Robert we know from a face sheet compiled by an admitting clerk and from a single televised interview on the emergency psychiatric ward of a county hospital. Patients are held on this ward for only three days, on the average, while a decision is made about commitment to a state hospital. The ward social worker tries, not always successfully, to interview every patient once during his brief stay and to see his family if necessary and possible.

Robert is a solidly built young man of Belgian extraction. A hint of fullness in his face makes him look more mature than his twenty-four years, and probably helps him to get jobs in spite of his irregular work record. Diagnostic impression of the admitting psychiatrist was schizophrenia, undifferentiated, of long duration. Robert signed himself into this hospital during an acute anxiety attack when he found himself recklessly taking pills—"just anything to feel better." He adds that he had no conscious intent to kill himself but accidentally might go too far. He asks to be legally committed, "for intensive treatment." Previously he has been in another county hospital, in two state hospitals, and in a neuropsychiatric institute, all on a voluntary basis; he also has been known to the latter as a day patient and as an outpatient.

Robert's parents are dead and he has no relatives in the state. He mentions no individual friends. He has completed two years of college, and when not a student he has worked intermittently as a lab technician. His most recent anxiety attack occurred when he applied for a job in the medical center where he previously had been treated as a psychiatric patient.

Because the present interview is to be televised, the social worker sees Robert in a special room, rather than sitting on a bed in the crowded ward as he normally would. Robert agrees to the televising without any noticeable increase in anxiety. He accepts intellectually that he is making a contribution to science. Morecver, the people who may see him on the screen are not imagined by him as real individuals, not as friend or date or prospective employer; therefore he is not fearful. Televising is just one more procedure being applied to him by well-meaning professional people. It will not cure him, any more than other procedures have, but he does not expect it to be specifically hurtful.

PERCEPTION OF SOCIAL WORLD AND THE ROLE OF THE PERSON TO BE SERVED

Robert seems unaware that a social world may exist apart from himself. When he talks of others, it is always in reference to himself. He sees those others as acting upon him.

Psychiatric staff:

> I went in to South County General, and I tried to walk out of there. I was on an open ward so they transferred me to a closed ward. And consequently I signed out. . . .
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> Employers:
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> Getting a job with my background is very difficult, to begin with. So generally I would lie, on the physical examination form, about "have you had any nervous disorders?" because I've been refused some very good jobs, because I told the truth. In other words, I figure I at least deserve a break. To at least show them that I am capable of holding down a job, like the next guy is. And invariably—I've been working in national defense; they find out, ah, about it, when they do a security check on me; because when you're in a state hospital, your fingerprints are taken and sent to Washington. So about 90 days will go by and then they find out—and, um, bam, I lose the job. I'm out on the street again. So, these feelings of rejection that I get, I think that maybe there really is something wrong with me. I mean, um—if everyone fires me or won't even hire me, there must be something wrong. (I don't understand. It seems to me that you could predict you'd be fired under these circumstances.) Ah-hm, no. I—I come through with the hope that if I show them how well I'm doing that they will overlook this problem in the background, and give me a clean bill of health. (But if you've lied on the application, they're not likely to keep you especially in federal jobs, and security class jobs, and all.) No. That's very true. But, ah. Ah, I don't know, I try. An, I don't know, I try my best, because I—when I got out of the state hospital the first time, they told me to um, "get a job, take my medication, and see a psychiatrist." That was my criterion for existence, upon my discharge. So I followed it very closely and I've had some very good jobs; I've made up to, oh, well, over a thousand dollars a month. And—but they don't last very long.
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> Others:
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> I mean, golly, people don't even give you a break. Uh-h, they nickname you "Schiz" or something, and it's very difficult, to adjust.

Though he feels acted upon, often to his disadvantage, Robert does not perceive others as personally hostile or systematic in their actions toward him. He describes how, on a particular job, he was coddled and bypassed. The social worker suggests he may feel that others often set the situation up in such a way that he becomes ill again.

> Unconsciously, yes. I mean I didn't feel that they were persecuting me or anything, not by a long shot. . . .(But somehow the impetus seems to come from them?) In the majority of cases, yes. There have been instances where I have contributed to my own downfall. But this, this is in the minority. . . .

Robert's perception of his relations with others still allows for the possibility of "something wrong with me," but this possibility is quickly canceled out by the recurrent "they." In college, "I mean, they told me, oh you can make the Dean's list, huh, maybe even the President's list, and I guess I was very proud and it just exploded at midterms." As though there were little difference between quitting and being bounced, Robert says,

> I quit high school; I got kicked out of the service, I got kicked out of college. I mean, I just have a recurrent pattern of failure. And that's the only thing I've ever been allowed to succeed at, is failure.

Rather, Robert perceives social relationships as mostly uncomprehending and indifferent, a kind of limbo in which what is done to him is not necessarily done for him. This perception includes psychiatric staff. At the last county hospital,

> I felt a feeling of despair, that I was just being custodial there rather than in a treatment situation. So I signed out of there and came up here with the intention of getting a position. . . .So I went to the day treatment center. And, um, I was there two days and I started having anxiety attacks even stronger. So, uh, I came in here Sunday to see what I could do about it. . . .Because when I get these attacks, I need some relief and I need it immediately. . . .Before, I've always managed fairly well on an outpatient program. . . .I mean, if I could show my doctor "Look, I'm sick," he'd jab me full of clemarol again, and I like that stuff. . . .when I was getting amitol on narcoanalysis. . . .it's a very pleasant feeling. I can see where people could get hooked on it very easily.

Even when social relationships occur in a context of pleasure-seeking, they seem to lack understanding and personal warmth.

> Well, I get a kind of cycle. . . .all of a sudden, bam, I'm up on top again, I'm really great, I'm jumping around, you know, and everyone says, this guy's a real swinger. I'm using the words they use, and I mean I was very accepted, I mean I was invited to marijuana parties and I didn't need marijuana.

In the interview, the social worker tries at several points to get Robert to look at the immediate interaction, at how he acts as well as is acted upon. Robert immediately retreats verbally to a second line of defense, a self system self-enclosed.

> (You know, even if it seems that the judge is going to commit you, make you go to the hospital, in effect I think this is really your doing.) Well, like I say, I've always been very upset.

Again:

> I was an A student. I had a four-point average. (You've related this kind of story to me before, about how well you can do, so that you have tried to let me know that you really have a lot of talent or ability. You're very—) [Quickly] No, I think it's more that I'm trying to convince myself that I do, because my self-esteem is very low. . . .I've always done this. . . .

Robert will not acknowledge his attempt to bolster self-esteem through interaction with the worker; he quickly refers the interchange back to his immutable self. This defensive maneuver leads to a curious alternation in his account between "they" and "I"; while social interrelationships of any sort remain vague.

SELF-IMAGE AND THE ROLE OF THE PERSON TO BE SERVED

Robert's self-image is unstable, the shifting reflection of the images others have about him.

> I don't really feel sick, but begin to think that often people think I'm sick, and so I, I say, well, if everyone says this guy is sick then I must be sick. Because fifty million Frenchmen can't be wrong. And if people say, "My God, you should see a psychiatrist," well I say I am seeing a psychiatrist, well they say, well he's not doing you very much good. So there I go, I begin to feel like holy mackerel, I mean I better be an inpatient. Because I just feel like there's some crime I committed and that I'm not aware of it.
>
> Like I say, I. . . got narcoanalysis there, and they still couldn't diagnose me, because I—I seem to display the symptoms of the people who I talk with during that day; I'm very flexible. They say be your—ha ha—they say be yourself. So I say what is myself—I don't know what I am. I'm a multiphase personality. Every day I'm someone new. And it's—it's a little frightening. . . .
>
> My fifth-grade teacher wrote on the back of my report card, "Bob lives amid great confusion created by himself." And that seemed—even in the fifth grade—I mean, it was very pronounced, um, that I was all jumbled up, that when I went to high school things got more and more jumbled up until finally I just couldn't take it.

Some negative aspects of the self image are becoming fixed: confusion, flight, and failure.

> Flight is my big problem. . . .short-term therapy doesn't seem to do me any good. I get back outside the hospital and I go into flight again.
>
> I've had some very good jobs, up to, oh, well, over a thousand dollars a month. And—but they don't last very long. I—I collapse after a while. . . .
>
> And I've even lost my ability to work and this is one thing that's kept me going, the ability to hold on to a fairly good job. My work history is getting so jumbled up that I'm beginning to get apprehensive. I mean, I go in with a negative attitude. I say well here I go I'm going to crack up again. And I just anticipate this failure. . . .
>
> There's a certain amount of security in failure, and so I guess I just am a chronic failure.

MORAL ORIENTATIONS AND THE ROLE OF THE PERSON TO BE SERVED

Robert's moral orientations emerge only obliquely from the televised interview. In the context of psychiatric treatment, they seem not to have been central to the caseworker's attention.

Certain values of the dominant culture—college education, work, and economic success—are values for Robert, though he feels he has failed to achieve them. "Acceptance" from a social peer group also matters to him. The characteristics of the sought group are unclear—perhaps, from Robert's reference to marijuana parties, a group not wholly conventional. Friendship is not mentioned.

To one remark, ". . . all of a sudden, bam, I'm on top again, I'm really great, I'm jumping around, I'm laughing, you know everyone says, this guy's a real swinger," Robert hastily adds, "I'm using the words they use." His amendment suggests a sexual reference, promptly covered. Several direct references to drugs likewise suggest uneasiness about resultant license, as though conventionality were valued, if not always maintained in behavior.

Indeed, Robert seems more sensitive to conventions than to genuine moral issues. A concept of mutual responsibility between people is foreign to him. In his view, he is manipulated or (though he is reluctant to so acknowledge) he manipulates. From interactions so perceived, he gains little sense of moral competence.

He does have some moral unease about his continuing illness. "I feel like there's some crime I committed and that I'm not aware of it." Robert's society likewise equates "sick" with "bad" and leaves open only a narrow door to salvation: the patient must try to get better. Robert sees that door closing as he clings to the idea that he is powerless against illness, just as against people. For these and other sins, he vividly anticipates the fiery finger of a Judge pointed out at him.

THE PROFESSIONAL PATIENT—A ROLE

Robert describes a series of outpatient therapies and voluntary hospitalization, leading progressively toward his present try for commitment. The social worker asks what he has learned from these experiences about himself or his situation.

> Well—I'm getting a feeling of hopelessness. I'm beginning to feel like I'm probably a professional patient, or something along this line, because ah-h, I don't know, I just have an awful hard time functioning. Ah, I don't know what it is; um, first time I got out, I was in great shape, and I had a lot of self-confidence, and no matter what happened to me, I still kept on trying, I mean, I—it took me two and a half months to find a job, but I just stuck with it, place after place after place; I just kept going around and trying. Until finally I found something. But now, I don't know, I'm just beginning, like I say, I'm beginning to feel this despair, that maybe I am a chronic case.
>
> Yeah. Like I say, I—I'm, ah-um, degenerating. I find myself, as I say, slipping from once a week to three times a week, to day care, and now inpatient. And I—I can't seem to control this drive inside me, that's driving me back. (And—what do you think—how will you be benefited by going to the state hospital?) Well, for one thing, it'll afford me isolation. Social isolation. Because I—you're socializing in a hospital, yeah, but it's a pathological society and it's a little easier to get along with, if you feel you're pathological. (You don't feel so many demands are made on you?) Well, it's hard—I—despise regimentation, but I don't know. It's, ah-h, you don't have to think, and—thinking seems to confuse me. I mean, the more I think about something, the more confused I get. And I go round and round and round. And, ah-hm, I don't know. A state hospital, like I say, does afford a certain amount of security, and I'm a very insecure person.
>
> (What kind of therapy do you expect to have when you are committed?) Well, I don't know—I respond very well to group therapy, get along very well in a group; and I'd like to get in on a one-to-one program; and also, work therapy. When I was in the state hospital, the first time—I seem to refer to that an awful lot—but, it was my longest stay. Ahh-hm, I worked in a pharmacy. And I enjoyed it. I developed my self-confidence again, and I developed some understanding of myself, and I even developed the ability to read—which I lost. I could even concentrate, by the time I got out. And that's something I hadn't

> been able to do, for about a year before I went in. So, it was—I—I, I received a lot of benefit from the extensive inpatient therapy. That's why I'm not volunteering to go to the state hospital. That's why I'm going this commitment route. Because whenever I get in a good therapeutic environment, I invariably will run away. Because I think I'm afraid of getting better. Ah—it may sound tragic but that's the way it is.

Robert's emphasis is on extensive inpatient treatment. Robert has "flexibly" adopted the role of professional patient, along with the psychiatric jargon. At the same time, he has a sense that it is a socially maladaptive role, which limits his opportunities for employment and is reinforced to his disadvantage by fellow workers. When he got a job,

> Things went along real well till they found out about me. But they wouldn't fire me. They said I was doing a very good job. But then everyone made a professional patient out of me. They would talk about the weather; and I was demoted from my good job which I liked and. . . .everyone was starting to coddle me. . . .overtime would come and they would sort of bypass me, they'd say well, you don't have to work overtime if you don't want to. . . .This makes you feel funny, when people do that to you, because I was doing the job just like the next guy. I had no time lost. . . .

OFFICIAL DECISIONS AND THE ROLE OF THE PERSON TO BE SERVED

A series of official decisions, going as far back as his fifth-grade school teacher's report, have helped to establish Robert in the role of psychiatric patient. One wonders whether he might have detoured in his progress toward a role of professional patient, had official decision blocked his first, voluntary flight to a state hospital. "I seem to refer to that an awful lot." Psychiatrists there and elsewhere have given Robert a diagnosis and a series of interpretations on which to model himself. With vague and shifting images of self, he welcomes a model. Increasingly there is danger that the model will become that of professional inpatient, and that it will become exclusive. Robert gets along well in a hospital. Though he "despises" regimentation, submission formalized in treatment is not uncongenial to him. And his least creative feelings—that he is acted upon, confused, a failure—often are acceptable coin in a psychiatric institution.

In the televised interview, the social worker tries, unsuccessfully, to discover what immediate experience in his living may have precipitated Robert's request that he be commited to a state hospital. From the social worker's slightly irritated, slightly skeptical tone, it is evident that he recognizes in Robert's action both self-destruction and secondary gain. But in bafflement at Robert's well-organized, well-rationalized role, the social worker ends up by giving Robert yet another diagnostic interpretation, that he is depressed.

Robert himself clearly perceives a relation between official decisions and his own role. He has been present as a bystander at one of the court hearings held in this hospital and himself will go before the court next day.

> That was the most morbid thing I've ever seen in my life . . . that dingy little room, faded paint, and one oversized light bulb hanging overhead, and everyone sort of marches in and they grab you by the arm and they turn you

toward the judge, and the judge points out this fiery finger and they carry you away. I mean, just like a person isn't competent to stand before his—before a judge. I mean, I can stand up without anyone pointing me, I know where the judge is, you don't have to turn me in the right direction, and that light glaring overhead. . . .I'm going to be shook up when that happens to me tomorrow.

The social worker asks what specifically will be disturbing.

Well, when he, when he points his finger at me, and tells me where I'm going; because, then it's going to be Reality, right now it's not exactly real. . . .I mean, I've never been committed before. I was in the hospital, oh I guess, the first time for six months, but I was there on a diagnostic hold and they felt that committing me would have been very detrimental to my—because, like I said, I'm very susceptible, I play roles; and they were afraid if they committed me, I would play the role of the committed mental patient. In other words, I would just quit. And, ahm, this is what I'm afraid is going to happen to me now.

Teaching Unit II

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TEACHING UNIT 3

Treatment Decision-making

PROPOSITIONS

Because the focus for treatment in social work is social functioning, the social work case is best understood as a "situation"—a field of forces in which many decision-makers influence the outcome of treatment. These decision-makers include the client himself, the worker and other officials who deal with him, and significant persons and groups in the client's life space.[1]

Treatment planning in any social work case involves the identification of those decision-makers who are relevant and essential to the accomplishment of the change goal. The resulting strategy for case intervention outlines the means by which the appropriate decision-makers are to be engaged in a goal-oriented action system for achieving the desired changes in social functioning.

When the social relations in the case situation are strongly positive the client is usually able to mobilize the support he needs from others without active intervention by the worker. In other situations in which the disturbance of functioning is focused in one set of relations, the involvement of a selected set of participants—such as mother, foster mother, and child—may be sufficient for the needs of the case. In a field such as corrections, the nature of the problem in social functioning itself fosters distorted relations among the significant decision-makers in each case. Accordingly, in most correctional cases the worker must take responsibility for helping many decision-makers to involve themselves positively in the treatment action system.

The complex of services in a community, the administration of the agency, and the worker are each responsible at one level for establishing the conditions necessary for treatment-oriented decision-making. At each level it is necessary to—

> Design a role for the client that maximizes his participation in decision-making.

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[1] In these cases, all the persons to be served are not only related to the service organization but are also clients of social workers, and the action is shown from the social worker's perspective. The term "client" is appropriate for this discussion, because we are discussing treatment at the level of the social work unit of action.

Create treatment-oriented roles for persons who are not officially related to the client but who are significant for him and influencing the direction of change.

Provide organizational means for communication among related official decision-makers so that each can perform his specific function in the perspective of treatment goals shared by all.

CASE ILLUSTRATIONS

In this set of action vignettes we shall be concerned with one aspect of treatment decision-making, i.e., patterns for organizing official decision-makers and the consequences of each such pattern for the social functioning of a particular client.

1. The first case reveals an agency organization in which most relevant official decision-makers perceive their own roles as contributing to treatment. However, the agency has failed to establish the organizational mechanisms necessary to facilitate appropriate communication among decision-makers. In this case the client response is evasion and manipulation (MR. B.).
2. In the second case we see an agency in which the official decision-makers are defined as responsible for segmented functions with competing goals. Accordingly these official persons tend to be mutually distrustful and self-protective. In this case the client sees the official world as acting in terms of the same moral defect—dishonesty—that she is expected to overcome in her own life (DOT).
3. In the third case the relevant decision-makers in the community perceive little relation—even that of competition—among their specific functions and the larger treatment goal. Each uses the means available in his own service to control or extrude the "bad" individual. In consequence the client's self-image as "bad" is reinforced and repeatedly invoked in interaction with authority persons (ANN).
4. The fourth case reveals a treatment strategy that minimizes the potential contribution of related official decision-makers. It is possible that the worker's focus on a restricted model of treatment decision-making in this case reinforces the client's tendency to perceive all social relations as hostile and frightening. However, because other decision-makers are concerned in the case situation, both client and worker are gradually drawn into participation in a more comprehensive pattern of social support (MRS. JACKS).
5. Case five comes from an agency that attempts to view all relevant official decision-makers as occupying roles that contribute to treatment. Organizational mechanisms have been provided both for "natural" communication among official personnel about case treatment and for special procedures to be used when normal communication is not sufficient to initiate treatment-oriented action. When the special procedure is invoked in this case, a "nuisance" client responds with the kind of improved social functioning that is necessary for implementing a coherent treatment strategy (WILBUR).

ADDITIONAL PROPOSITIONS

It is evident that different clients will respond differently to similar decision-making patterns among officials. For instance, another girl in the institution shown in Vignette 2 responded to the conflictual decision-making among official personnel with an acute schizophrenic breakdown.

It is proposed that—

Discontinuity and conflict among official decision-makers tends to intensify whatever social and personal pathology is characteristic for the particular client.

The client's actual capacity for viable social functioning will become most evident in those situations where official decision-makers tend to relate their independent functions to treatment goals shared by other influential officials in the client's life. Therefore the organization of official decision-makers for coherent work is a powerful aid to accurate diagnosis.

In selecting data for the following case vignettes we have been most interested in—

The way each official decision-maker perceives his role in relation to the client and to other decision-makers.

The focus of the individual decision-maker's loyalty, i.e., to his own function as narrowly conceived or to a larger treatment goal within which his function makes a contribution.

The organizational patterns that facilitate or impede communication about treatment among official decision-makers.

The impact of official decision-making patterns on the client's self-image and relations with others.

vignette 1

OFFICIAL DECISIONS AND MANIPULATION

In an Adult Prison

MR. B.

MR. B. is a thirty-eight-year-old Negro in a state institution for adult offenders. Since age fifteen he has spent most of his time in correctional institutions. He is now serving his third adult commitment for armed robbery and assault with a dangerous weapon. He was transferred to this institution three years ago. Throughout his record it is evident that he has been perceived as a troublemaker, involved in strong-arm activities, extensive gambling, homosexuality, and self-mutilation. In this institution he has gained considerable prestige among inmates as a boxer.

I found Mr. B. to be a guarded, suspicious, oversensitive individual who tends to distort situations by overpersonalizing them. He seems to have settled into an institutional pattern involving a network of unconnected relations with other staff members in the institution. Accordingly, I started work on the case by seeking out these other officials in order to integrate our activities. This was easier said than done. Some of them work different shifts from myself; and few of us cross each other's paths in the course of daily work. Five months later I am still learning about persons whom I have never met but who are used by Mr. B. to support his plans for himself.

In my first explorations, four staff members seemed particularly important for Mr. B.'s institutional career: his correctional counselor who handles the paper work for his official record; a custody lieutenant who knew Mr. B. when he was housed on another unit; the custody lieutenant responsible for Mr. B.'s current housing unit; and the recreational lieutenant who manages boxing activities.

I soon realized that each of these persons has a different picture of Mr. B. The counselor is very negative about him, believing him to be a troublemaker, "not worth the effort," even though Mr. B. has not had a discipline report for six months. The lieutenant from the former housing unit talks a great deal with Mr. B. and believes he has improved in recent months. However, this officer is concerned for fear that Mr. B. has "become institutionalized and is less of a behavior problem simply because this is a more comfortable adjustment for him." The lieutenant from the current housing unit also feels that Mr. B. is doing well at the moment but identifies his problem as involvement with a passive homosexual. Meanwhile the recreational lieutenant is most concerned about Mr. B.'s quick temper and reports success in helping him control its expression.

One episode illustrates how difficult it has been to co-ordinate the various institutional decision-makers for effective treatment. This particular sequence of staff decisions began with the review of Mr. B.'s institutional program by the classification committee. Among those present only the case manager and the unit lieutenant knew Mr. B. However, the lieutenant from Mr. B.'s former housing unit had proposed

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[1] Reported by a social worker who is primarily responsible for clinical interviews.

through informal channels that Mr. B. be assigned to minimum custody status so he could work outside on the institutional grounds. This plan would, according to him, help to counteract Mr. B.'s overadjustment to institutional life by requiring him to face a new situation. I heard about the plan from Mr. B. himself after it had been approved by the committee. He seemed to like the idea and from my perspective it offered many advantages.

As the weeks went by there was no change in Mr. B.'s work assignment and I accepted Mr. B.'s report that as yet there had been no vacancy on the outside work crew. When I looked into the matter for myself I discovered that the outside crew foreman had never been told why the work change was important for Mr. B.'s treatment, partly because this official is seldom inside the institution and is difficult to reach. So far as the foreman was concerned, Mr. B.'s name has simply appeared on a list of those inmates who were approved for outside work and from whom he might select. Meanwhile Mr. B. had decided, without discussing the matter with anyone else, that the weather was getting too cold for outside work and had asked the foreman to skip his name on the list. The foreman assured me he would call Mr. B. for the next vacancy.

However, by the time there was another opening on the outside crew, Mr. B. was unwilling to accept a job change and his name was once again passed over. This final change in motivation followed Mr. B.'s informal conversation with the Associate Superintendent about his desire to be transferred to another institution where his family could visit him. This official assured him that such a transfer could be arranged later in the year. Apparently Mr. B. had believed the outside job experience would improve his chances of being recommended for transfer to a less secure institution. Once he felt sure that administrative officials would approve a transfer under any circumstances, he lost his earlier interest in a job that would require him to modify his present institutional patterns.

I was impressed by the fact that nearly every staff member I talked with had a legitimate plan for work with Mr. B. However, each such plan was only a segment of the total approach needed to help Mr. B. Instead of meeting a coherent staff, Mr. B. found himself dealing with individuals, each of whom emphasized one factor at the expense of another to the point of actual contradictions. Mr. B. tends to use this lack of coherent staff planning to manipulate the system while the interested staff members either remain unaware of his activity or find out about it too late to take effective action.

vignette 2

OFFICIAL DECISIONS AND DISHONESTY

In an Institution for Delinquent Girls

DOT

SEVENTEEN-YEAR-OLD DOT is a bright, attractive, and sophisticated delinquent. Her record includes three counts of forgery and a car theft as well as the more usual truancies, runaways, and sexual misbehavior. Before she came to this institution she had already spent a year in a county institution for delinquents. The report described Dot as "shallow, delinquently identified, needing training but not expected to benefit from it, and difficult to work with." She was found to be heavily tattooed.

The Initial Classification Committee, composed of department heads, assigned Dot to a cottage used for the more aggressive girls and managed by a blunt, forceful head supervisor known for her ability to maintain control. They decided not to refer Dot for individual treatment.

When the cottage staff evaluated Dot at the end of her first six months, the head supervisor reported that Dot's behavior had changed from "direct acting out" (e.g., being out of bounds, smoking, and open defiance) to "deviousness" and "incitement of others" (e.g., adding two tattoos to her cheeks and establishing a "cuata"[2] relationship with another girl in the same cottage). The progress report written by the cottage staff team recommended that Dot be referred to the treatment clinic because of her "marginal adjustment and superficial relationships with staff and girls." After Dot had been assigned to my caseload I learned of two more positive factors influencing the decision to refer her for treatment, neither of which was officially recorded. The head supervisor was feeling more favorable toward Dot than at first because Dot had attempted to protect her during a cottage disturbance. In addition, because Dot had maintained good behavior for a month, she had attended the reward party where she made a good impression on several staff members who had not previously met her.

Just after Dot's progress report there was much unrest in the cottage. Dot and her cuata were especially provocative. The two girls received a series of disciplinary grades for such activities as "whispering and plotting" and "upsetting the dining routine by breaking plates." One evening Dot and her cuata wore black to dinner (forbidden as a sign of defiance). At first they were verbally reprimanded, but after much whispering and signs of growing excitement Dot was sent to her room. Instead of walking down the hall, Dot ran into the day room (out of bounds after dinner). Although there was no exit from this area, the head supervisor charged Dot with an "escape attempt" and had her transferred to the punishment cottage for two weeks.

When I discussed this incident with the head supervisor she said she had labeled Dot's behavior as an escape attempt for two reasons: she wanted to "crack down" on the cottage before real trouble erupted; and she had found by experience that she had

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[1] Reported by a social worker based in the institution's psychiatric clinic.

[2] Cuata: An inmate term meaning "twin." The relationship requires the two girls to copy each other in everything, even in misbehavior.

to cite very serious offenses in order to persuade administration to approve her requests for transfer to the punishment cottage. When I talked with Dot she acknowledged she had "been asking for trouble for some time." However, she was very angry about "staff dishonesty" in defining her run into the day room as an escape attempt. She said, "Now I feel I have really reached the bottom of the heap."

Following this episode Dot's behavior improved noticeably and for the first time she seemed to be trying. Unfortunately the head supervisor was absent during most of this period on a prolonged vacation (required because of her accumulated overtime). In her absence a program of Christmas furloughs was announced and Dot applied for a visit home with the approval of the substitute supervisor and myself. We felt Dot's improved attitude should be recognized in this way. It also seemed important that Dot should try living with her mother and new stepfather to whom she would be paroled in five months.

Before the furlough decision was made the head supervisor in Dot's cottage returned from vacation and was informed that she would be transferred to take charge of the discipline cottage within the month. When I discussed Dot's furlough request with her she seemed preoccupied with her own job change and said she had not noticed much improvement in Dot's behavior. She commented only that "the other supervisor approved the request and she should be the one to give her opinion." However, when the Committee considered Dot's application, they consulted the head supervisor (rather than the substitute), who simply reported that she was "not sure." Accordingly the Committee examined the record more closely and noted the recent "escape attempt." They denied the furlough on the basis that Dot would be a runaway risk. Because I knew of Dot's continuing anger about "staff dishonesty" I found myself too uneasy to tell her the real reason for the denial. I therefore told her only that the Committee felt her discipline infractions were too recent to warrant the special privilege.

The new head supervisor of Dot's cottage proved to be a hesitant, indirect, and somewhat moralistic person who lacked experience with difficult girls. In an effort to establish control she strictly enforced all official rules and withdrew certain privileges, such as Friday-night dancing, that had been informally permitted by the former head.

At first the new supervisor was much impressed by Dot's friendliness to staff and appointed her as a special helper. Dot soon found herself caught between her peers and the supervisor as the girls in the cottage reacted to the new restrictions with covert hostility and misbehavior. At a time when Dot was one of the few girls in the cottage not under some sort of restriction she visited in another girl's room, thus breaking a rule that had seldom been enforced under the previous regime. The new head was upset because her "helper had let her down" and invoked the maximum discipline penalty permitted for this offense. As a result Dot was denied a second preparole furlough request. From that time on Dot was one of the more troublesome girls in the cottage and made little effort to relate positively with staff.

While Dot was restricted for this rule violation she heard a rumor that a tattoo check was planned. Hoping to complete her discipline time during a single period she voluntarily reported the cheek tattoos she had inflected on herself ten months before. When I discovered that she was being graded for recent tattooing activity I asked the head supervisor to correct the official record. It was important to have this record clear because Crippled Children's Services was prepared to remove all of Dot's tattoos on her release to parole provided there was evidence that she had ceased this self-defacing activity. Although both the head supervisor and the assistant to whom Dot reported the cheek tattoos agreed that the marks were old, they were unwilling to request a change in the record. Their reason was that the punishment was only now imposed; it should therefore appear in the record in a way that would not raise questions in the minds of reviewing superiors.

vignette 3

OFFICIAL DECISIONS AND HOSTILITY
From the Perspective of a Youth Parole Agency

ANN

ANN is a vivacious sixteen-year-old with good intelligence and a sense of humor. Her delinquencies have been episodic since she was twelve, starting with truancy and followed by short "runaways," refusal to obey her mother, and public brawling as a member of delinquent groups. By fifteen Ann was on probation. When she married without the consent of the court she was sent to a state institution. She was paroled in two months after annulment proceedings were initiated.

It was evident from the beginning that Ann's family situation aggravated her tendency to erratic behavior. She lives, along with five other children, the eldest of whom is nineteen, with a mother who is disabled by a neurological condition and an alcoholic stepfather. Two of the children besides Ann are on probation or parole and an older brother is in a correctional institution for a serious offense. A distant relative (who also has family troubles) is paid by the welfare agency for housekeeping services. The entire family is supported by Social Security plus ADC and general relief grants. Until Ann's marriage can be annulled, she receives a small general relief grant in the form of grocery orders. In an initial conference with the public welfare worker I learned about the long history of conflict between the family and the welfare agency. As the worker outlined the family's financial situation she told me she is providing Ann with grocery orders rather than with cash relief because "Ann needs to learn how to accept charity."

When Ann was released on parole she was still fifteen and therefore was required to attend school. However, school attendance is more than a legal requirement in the treatment plan. Ann's intelligence warrants further education and, given her lack of training, employment opportunities are slim. She needs the regular schedule of school work and the interests it can provide outside her home. Furthermore the family seriously needs the larger ADC grant for which Ann will become eligible once her marriage is annulled, provided she continues in school. Because the local high school was unwilling to accept Ann as a full-time student, she was enrolled at the beginning of parole in continuation high school where she is attending half-heartedly three hours a day.

In an early interview Ann announced that she was going to quit school and look for full-time work. Since both she and I knew this was not a realistic plan, I asked her to tell me about her problems with school.

In response Ann told me about the period during which she initially lost interest in school. She had been so disturbed by her father's death when she was in the seventh grade that she began to truant and flunked the grade although until then she had been a reasonably good student. The school sent her to a psychologist to discover why she was doing so poorly and, as part of the effort to renew her interest, arranged part-

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[1] Reported by a social worker who is the parole officer.

time work for her as a filing clerk in the attendance office. There Ann read her own record. The psychologist's report stated that she was "lower class, cheap, and shabbily dressed." At the same time, a male guidance teacher became very much interested in Ann and tried to persuade her to change her hair style from "stacked" to a less flamboyant cut. He visited the home and offered to buy Ann a permanent, an attention much resented by Ann and her mother. Ann said she "began to hate school" at that time. She believes the school is still prejudiced against her family as "lower class" because her younger brother recently entered this same school and was told on the first day by the counselor who registered him that he hoped "one Adams would make good."

Ann's concern about the way she and her family are seen by the community has been further inflamed by her current relief status. She feels humiliated when she has to sign grocery orders in front of other customers. In addition, the public welfare worker has been talking to Ann about her grooming. Ann recounted a recent interview. The worker called Ann into the office instructing her to bring a fashion magazine like Seventeen so they could talk about styles. During the interview she told Ann to pick out one picture she liked and they would discuss how Ann could manage to look like that picture. Ann refused, saying that it was no use looking at a picture when she couldn't afford that kind of clothes anyway. The worker replied that Ann could look proper without additional money if she would get a sewing machine and make her own clothes. Ann was so angry she stalked out of the interview.

As I have observed Ann, so far, her grooming problem seems to be a combination of her genuine preference for the "uniform" of the community's disapproved adolescents and a matter of not having the proper garments. Ann, her mother, and I discussed what clothing items she most needed and they agreed a new coat was essential. At Mrs. Adams' request I said I would discuss the possibility of cash aid and an allowance for the coat with the public welfare worker. The interview ended with Ann's agreeing to continue in school three hours a day until the annulment is secured and we can explore all the possible alternatives.

The next day I proposed to the public welfare worker that we could work together to develop Ann's image of herself as someone who can be respected. The worker agreed to try Ann on cash relief the following month and to allow an unspecified amount for a coat if I would take Ann shopping for it. She clearly felt hopeless about my long-range plans for a change in Ann's behavior. I also talked with the counselor at the continuation high school, telling him about Ann's sensitivity to being "labeled as lower class." He had noticed Ann, believed she had considerable potentiality and offered to give her special encouragement. With his support Ann began to attend school more consistently.

The next episode revealed Ann's tendency to draw unfavorable attention to herself and refocused the issue on keeping Ann in the community so she could attend school. A two-car accident occurred one evening when Ann and her friends were "dragging the main" and the police arrested Ann's boy friend. Ann provocatively questioned the police about "picking on him" and was told to mind her own business or she would be arrested too. With noisy profanity Ann pointed out to the cops that they were not even making the kids in the other car get out into the street to discuss the circumstances. "You treat them differently because they are 'saditt'[2] and my friend swore at you." When the police tried to put Ann into the police car she screamed and kicked and was consequently taken to the detention home for the night.

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[2] Saditt: Local delinquent youth term meaning middle class in appearance and manner.

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In a long interview the next day Ann argued that all the police in the community picked on kids who are not "saditt" just because of the way they dress and talk regardless of whether they are doing anything wrong. I pointed out that, since she believed this is the way police act, it would be well for her to avoid situations in which the police might be apt to discriminate. Ann was released to go home. Two weeks later she told me of an incident during which some girls in another car yelled out that Ann was "bed bait." Although the cars stopped and a fight was imminent, Ann withdrew from combat "for the first time in my life." Later when the police stopped the car in which Ann was riding, she talked with them in a way that avoided arrest.

Shortly after this incident I called the public welfare worker to find out how much money could be allowed for the purchase of Ann's coat. The worker reported that she had decided to restrict Ann's allowance to grocery orders because Ann had been discourteous to her and was staying out of school on the excuse that she had to care for her mother. I asked what the trouble was, commenting that Ann had seemed to be trying to conform more than previously. The worker asked for examples of improvement and I responded that Ann is now getting home before curfew and had recently refused a fight. Admitting that this did seem to be progress, the worker nevertheless stated that Ann would have to have a perfect attendance record at school for two months before the worker would grant cash relief.

I found Ann ready to quit school and to "let the worker keep her aid." She said, "Having to sign those grocery orders in front of everybody makes me feel no one trusts me even when I am trying to be good." I asked what had happened to make her sullen with the welfare worker. According to Ann and her mother they had been talking with the welfare worker about Ann's return to ADC following the annulment. Ann had been smoking during the interview without comment from the worker. When the district office supervisor passed through the interviewing area, the worker immediately rebuked Ann, saying no fifteen-year-old was going to smoke in her office. Ann had insolently pointed out the worker's inconsistency and in response the worker said she would not allow money for Ann's new coat. The interview ended in a noisy argument involving all three.

I commented that Ann seems quite regularly to attack authority figures in a way that causes trouble for herself. Although at first Ann angrily defended herself she finally decided she would continue receiving relief because of her family's financial need and admitted that she had caused part of the trouble with the welfare worker.

Ann continued in school only until her sixteenth birthday.[3] After that she desultorily looked for work but without success. Two months later when the marriage was annulled and she became eligible for ADC, Ann voluntarily asked me to help her enroll in full-time high school.

Ann and I went together to see the high school guidance counselor after I had arranged an appointment. He turned out to be the same counselor who had offered to buy Ann a permanent some months before. The interview quickly turned into an argument between Ann and the counselor about the causes of her past misbehavior. He told Ann that he understood she couldn't help the kind of family she was born into and recounted several bitter arguments with Ann's mother about her younger brothers. Ann was defensive and angry in return. When I pointed out that Ann was currently attempting to change her way of life, the counselor agreed to discuss the matter with the high school principal. Later, a message from the principal denied Ann permission to reenter school on the basis that the teachers would be too antagonistic to provide Ann with a good educational experience.

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[3] An administrative conference involving both public welfare and parole workers and supervisors was scheduled to clarify the Adams' financial situation as it affected Ann. This conference was helpful but its decisions became effective too late to influence Ann's decision about school attendance.

Ann then asked me to help her enroll in another high school. I took the matter up with the liaison officer between the school district and the parole agency. He decided to interview Ann and her mother, and after this discussion he persuaded the principal of the original high school to give Ann a try. Later I asked Ann what she had said to make the liaison officer ready to go to bat for her. She replied, "I told him I want to get a respectable job and I need an education for that." So far, six weeks later, Ann seems to be doing acceptably in her high school program. For the moment at least we have a program base that permits us to tackle fundamental questions in Ann's relations with her community.

vignette 4

OFFICIAL DECISIONS AND SOCIAL WITHDRAWALS

In a Protective Services Unit

MRS. JACKS

MRS. MAYBELLE JACKS, twenty-four, divorced, came to the protective services office only after I had left several messages at her apartment. With brightly dyed red hair, she looked a hardened thirty, but her voice was soft and tremulous. She had been expecting to hear from someone. In the adjoining county, where she had lived until the previous week, a neighbor complained to police that Mrs. Jacks' two children often were left for hours unsupervised. Learning that she was about to move, the police told her they would refer the complaint here. Mrs. Jacks readily admitted that sometimes she has no sitter for Jimmy, age eight, and Sandra, age nine. For the past several months, she has worked full time as a waitress, but her hours have been irregular. Since the complaint, her employers at the Pancake House have been sympathetic, and have promised her the same day off each week, an unusual concession. However, they continue to change her daily hours as their own needs fluctuate. Mrs. Jacks now has a new babysitter, a Negro woman who seems adaptable to her hours. Hesitantly she added, "Not so good at controlling the children."

While trying to reach Mrs. Jacks, I had obtained information from police, welfare, and school departments. There were no other official complaints against her. The welfare worker considered her "pretty wise," had been suspicious about men staying with her, and about unreported work. The schools considered her uncooperative, because she had not kept appointments to discuss Jimmy. Former and present teachers saw Jimmy as intelligent, but restless and inattentive, accomplishing little in class, inept at sports, discourteous to other children, and the butt of their harsh teasing. Sandra they saw as "no problem," since she was quiet, almost withdrawn, and did her assignments promptly with average grades. The children have been in six different schools.

In this first interview, reluctantly, Mrs. Jacks admitted her own worry that Jimmy may be stealing small articles. She blamed their new neighborhood, which is tough and racially mixed, although nearer her work. She also blamed Sandra, who is "sneaky" and gets Jimmy in trouble. Finally she acknowledged that problems with Jimmy have gone on a long time. He was born during the divorce, another weight around her neck. Her husband never contributed support. For a while, he was in jail on a robbery and narcotics conviction, and he is still on probation in a neighboring county. She hasn't approached his probation officer to get support because "It's hopeless"; and she doesn't want him to have anything to do with the children.

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[1] This protective services unit recently had been established in the county welfare department, under an infrequently implemented state law, and with federal child welfare funds. Focus of the service, on behalf of neglected, abused, or exploited children, was "preventive, nonpunitive treatment of factors underlying parents' inability to provide proper care and guidance."

Mrs. Jacks is a high school graduate who has had some training for business. She prefers to work as a waitress. The pay is good. After the lean years on ANC, she can catch up now on clothes and furniture, buying on time. She enjoys the kidding and informality of restaurant life. "I need it. In the evening the kids and I sit around like three old people."

Except for the easy sociability on her job, Mrs. Jacks' life struck me as increasingly isolated. Born a Mormon, she had broken off contact with the church when she had asked for a loan and felt rebuffed. She and the children's father were married only three years. A subsequent marriage lasted only three months. She has a man friend now who repeatedly asks her to marry him. "With me, it's only sexual. I can't stand him around for long. I don't like people much." Several attempts to live with her own or her first husband's parents broke up. The latter cared for the children once when Mrs. Jacks was "ill." She had locked herself in her house for almost three months, seeing no one.

When most desperate, Mrs. Jacks said, she retreats. Just now, she is finding it harder and harder to leave her apartment.

Although present child-care arrangements seemed marginally adequate, I was concerned about Mrs. Jacks' emotional withdrawal and Jimmy's incipient difficulties. It seemed unlikely that she would accept psychiatric referral. Once before, at the county hospital for a physical examination, she had become so anxious that the doctor sent her to a psychiatrist. His nondirective approach frightened her, and she did not go back to either doctor. She did continue to take the children for medical checkups, but sometimes was so scared she threw up in the toilet. I thought I should try to reach out to her myself.

I voiced my concern for her and her family, and explained the difference between our service and the police or probation office. She hedged about further appointments but finally agreed, provided I would come to her home. She suggested that if no one answered, I walk in. Often she oversleeps.

Over the next two months, Mrs. Jacks kept some appointments at home, but often disappeared completely. Because of the difficulty of seeing her at all, I several times dropped in without appointment. Once, when Mrs. Jacks was not expecting me, I found the phone in the middle of the floor, off the hook and covered with pillows. Mrs. Jacks explained that she overslept, was bawled out by her boss, and was too upset to go to work at all, even though she knew that if she went and apologized everything would be all right. It seemed clear that she was hiding, yet expecting that her boss would come to her and ask her to return (as he did).

In most interviews, Mrs. Jacks talked compulsively about details of her work, usually sitting as far from me as possible. Finally I insisted on discussing directly her fear of me. Several uninterrupted interviews followed, in which Mrs. Jacks told how she protects herself from anger at Jimmy by ignoring him. During this period, I met Chuck Gunther, the ineffectual-looking young man who gradually was moving into the apartment, while Mrs. Jacks continued to insist she wouldn't marry him. He had a low-paying job and many debts from a prior marriage. Mrs. Jacks' chief objection to marriage, however, was not financial. She didn't want to share with him her time, her household arrangements, or any family decisions. She treated him as a barely welcome guest, talked rings around him, and kept her earnings and debts separate from his.

At this time the school guidance worker called me to report again that Jimmy's teacher was very concerned about his inability to concentrate, disorderly appearance, and depression. In interviews, Mrs. Jacks was saying that she had known all along how disturbed Jimmy was but hadn't been able until now to face it. I was concerned not only about Jimmy but that Mrs. Jacks seemed to be drifting into another unstable marriage. I broached the possibility of psychiatric referral for both Jimmy and herself. Mrs. Jacks finally agreed. She went to the Children's Hospital Guidance Clinic as arranged, for an initial interview and for examination of Jimmy. Although she appeared quite frightened afterward, she said that it "helped to have Jimmy as a crutch." Children's Hospital could not offer regular treatment for several weeks yet, so I continued seeing Mrs. Jacks.

Abruptly, Mrs. Jacks broke off all contact with me and with Children's Hospital. I tried repeatedly to reach her. Finally, out of my great concern, I did what she once had suggested, entered the apartment. I found her hiding in a closet, unwilling to talk to me. Fearful of overstepping professional bounds, yet concerned that no one would reach out to her, I insisted on knowing what had happened. In an angry outburst, she told me that she was pregnant and had married Chuck. By the end of my call she was superficially friendly, but continued to refuse further appointments with me or with the hospital. She seemed tired and overwhelmed by the unwanted pregnancy and marriage. Reluctantly, I prepared to close the case.

A second phase began when I learned from another worker that Sandra might have been sexually molested by her new stepfather. (Sandra had confided to a child in that worker's caseload, and the worker had recognized Sandra's name.) In supervisory conference, it was agreed that inquiry, and an opportunity for the parents themselves to act responsibly, should be the first steps, before possible legal action. I was afraid that Mrs. Gunther, in her state of withdrawal, might be unable to face the accusation or behave responsibly. I went to her at work. Mrs. Gunther appeared stunned, but took charge at once. She told her boss she had to leave for the day, phoned Chuck to meet her at home, and went directly to talk with Sandra before her husband arrived. Both Chuck and Sandra admitted sex play. There had been no force and no attempt at intercourse. Chuck cried. Revolted, angry, and feeling very separate, Mrs. Gunther said she thought of leaving both her husband and the children. Instead, she asked that I arrange psychiatric treatment for her husband and herself, and I did.

The psychiatrist at the local mental health clinic was new in the community, but already had established working relationships with various community agencies. Those agencies perceived him as practical, down to earth, and frank. In this instance, he recognized the community pressures which this type of offense generates, and offered an emergency appointment. From the initial interview, he concluded that Mr. Gunther was not a sexual psychopath, nor dangerous; rather, the sex play and fantasies seemed manifestations of family tension, stemming perhaps from Mrs. Gunther's dominating rejection of both her husband and Sandra. I also checked with police and found that Mr. Gunther had no prior juvenile or adult record.

These factors carried weight in the conference my supervisor and I arranged with the district attorney and the psychiatrist. The district attorney decided against immediate prosecution, provided the psychiatrist would keep him advised of his observations in treatment. The psychiatrist felt he could not give details of interviews, but could keep the district attorney advised of any developments which might contraindicate the present arrangement. This was satisfactory to the district attorney.

The psychiatrist viewed Mr. Gunther as the father of a new family-to-be, and thought treatment should aim chiefly at stabilizing the relationship between the parents, prior to birth of the new baby. He would interview the parents jointly. Since he could not also see the children, and since Sandra especially must be feeling upset and guilty, I offered to work with Sandra and Jimmy. The psychiatrist supported that plan.

Over a six-month period, family relationships improved. Mrs. Gunther at first tried to send her husband alone for psychiatric treatment, to compete with her

daughter for my attention, and to talk with me instead of the psychiatrist. The psychiatrist and I kept in close touch, however, and neither of us tried to forestall Mrs. Gunther's talking with me, provided she also kept her clinic appointments. In my own contacts with Mrs. Gunther, I tried to help her act more decisively about suspected delinquencies of the children. On one occasion I made a strong specific suggestion, practically an order, that she go to the pet shop and check up about the guinea pig the children had "found."

I also worked with Mrs. Gunther about the family's complicated finances, caused partly by Mr. Gunther's debts and his responsibility for children of his first marriage. Mrs. Gunther had never been willing to apply for ADC or to contact the district attorney for support from her first husband. She began to see now that her strong feelings about keeping the children to herself were making things hard for them. When she talked to Mr. Gunther, however, he appeared set against ADC or any contact with the children's father. I conferred with the psychiatrist, who thought this matter very important. He thought that Mr. Gunther had unrealistic expectations of himself, was trying to pretend he was the children's real father and to take over financial responsibilities with which he could not possibly cope, while not foreseeing his role with the new baby. The psychiatrist discussed this with the Gunthers jointly, and they decided to apply for ADC. They were found eligible for about $75.00 a month. Both expressed appreciation of the courteous consideration they had been given in contrast to their expectations.

During the year that followed, the family remained together without acute problems.

vignette 5

OFFICIAL DECISIONS AND NUISANCE BEHAVIOR

In a Young Men's Reformatory

WILBUR JOHNSON

FROM THE MOMENT Wilbur Johnson, a nineteen-year-old Negro, was admitted to the institution, he fit the stereotype of the "nuisance," a client who is chronically in trouble and who apparently lacks any social or personal resources. Within two months he had managed to get himself thrown out of school and dismissed from a culinary assignment. In desperation he had finally been assigned to the least demanding of all jobs, that of corridor orderly. His talk was a mumble, difficult to understand. Staff tended to believe that he deliberately distorted his speech as a way of expressing hostility. Because his offense was burglary with aggravated assault he was perceived as potentially dangerous.

The entire project staff was present at the conference called to help the responsible decision-makers develop a treatment plan. Each person who had assumed some responsibility for Wilbur presented his perspective, including personnel outside the project staff itself. The officials who contributed information included Wilbur's counselor, the two Unit custody officers, Wilbur's former school teacher, the corridor officer currently supervising his work assignment, the parole agent who would be responsible for Wilbur whenever he would be released to the community, the supervisor of the institution's group counseling program who had tried to find some place for Wilbur in his program, and the Unit treatment supervisor.

The counselor reported that Wilbur frequently demanded adjustments in his schedule and was apparently unwilling to accept institutional regulations. In his opinion Wilbur put on an act, pretending to be duller than he actually was in order to get

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[1] This case is reproduced from Chapter VIII, The Story of C Unit, a manuscript in preparation for the Russell Sage Foundation. The organizational context for treatment of individuals is elaborated in that document.

[2] This case conference occurred in a project that organizes administrative personnel, counselors, and custody officers within a single treatment unit to share responsibility for a common caseload. By design relevant teachers and work supervisors were involved in treatment planning and action as appropriate for the needs of particular cases. In spite of the treatment-oriented structure, "nuisance" cases appeared with some regularity, each characterized by the inability of any staff member to initiate positive action. Accordingly, a new organizational arrangement was established to deal with such cases—a conference of all relevant official decision-makers scheduled during periods of time allotted to staff training. This conference was used to disrupt antitreatment stereotypes and to relate the independent activities of different decision-makers to an agreed treatment plan for the particular case. Preceding each such conference the treatment supervisor conducted a diagnostic interview with the inmate whose case was to be considered, using the dimensions proposed in Teaching Unit I for analyzing "the problem in social functioning."

out of work. The two Unit officers had noted that Wilbur seldom understood an order and that when it was repeated he became surly. The evening officer had also observed that Wilbur was frequently the butt of jokes arranged by other inmates. The teacher had been unable to get consistent work from Wilbur and had dismissed him from school because he kept the other students distracted by acting the buffoon in response to their needling. The officer in charge of corridor orderlies said Wilbur repeatedly wandered away from his post when not closely supervised and was insolent when reprimanded. In the preparole discussion groups, the parole agent had observed that Wilbur was easily triggered by provocative comments from other inmates into long mumbling tirades, during which the other group members covertly sniggered. The group counseling supervisor felt Wilbur had some potentialities hidden beneath his surly manner but had no suggestions for reaching him. Each official reported that he was frustrated in attempting to deal with this resistant individual who consistently caused minor trouble; and so far each had been coping as best he could in isolation from his co-workers.

In this review of common experiences the group identified certain perceptions shared by all the members. Wilbur was obviously and disagreeably hostile but seldom showed overt rebellion. He was demanding and at the same time seemed unable to understand or accept the minimum expectations of the inmate role. He acted in any group of inmates to bring ridicule on himself while expressing the covert hostilities of all. And he seemed to each staff member who had dealt with him to have potentialities for doing better if he only would.

The treatment supervisor's report of the diagnostic interview with Wilbur added information suggesting other reasons for his irritating behavior. In the interview Wilbur had described an extremely poverty-stricken childhood in the deep South. He had little memory of his parents and reported that an older sister had taken care of the brood of younger children. Wilbur had left school at age ten to help finance the household. As he talked, the supervisor noticed how clearly he was expressing himself and commented that she had not heard him speak so well before. Wilbur responded that his sister was the only adult with whom he had ever really talked and he had always found it easier to talk with women than with men.

He went on to tell how he had left home at eighteen, going West to look for work. He got a job as a dishwasher in a bar where a white waitress befriended him and finally asked him to come to her room after work. Late one evening Wilbur went to the store at the address she had given him just as it was about to close. When the storekeeper stated that the waitress had moved and refused to say where she had gone, Wilbur thought the man was lying to him because he was a Negro. He picked up an axe lying near by, intending to frighten the man into revealing her whereabouts. The storekeeper pulled a gun from under the counter and pointed it at Wilbur, who hit out in fear. Graphically he described over and over his horror at seeing the man fall; his realization that he must run; and his grabbing the loose money on the counter with some confused thought that this action would influence people to look for a burglar. Wilbur left town, found himself in another state, and secured an agricultural job where he was working steadily two months later when he was arrested. It was then that he learned the storekeeper was permanently crippled as a result of the blow.

Now in the institution, Wilbur said he found himself repeatedly losing all awareness of his surroundings while he relived for endless moments the horror of the assault. "I keep asking myself how could I have done that? Did I really do it? I never hit a man before." Whenever Wilbur was absorbed in this inner dialogue he responded angrily and incoherently to an interruption from anyone, often realizing afterwards that once again he had been "insolent" to an officer. He spoke of his continuous feeling of irritability as people around him, inmates or officials, forced themselves on his attention, interrupting his compulsive inner search for what had happened and why.

In the perspective of Wilbur's own perception of what was happening, his behavior took on new meanings. The conference group noted that he did not seem to be basically delinquent in orientation and that he had probably done well not to get into trouble at an earlier age. As a Negro from a deprived Southern background, suddenly located in a Western metropolitan area where the social position of the Negro was much less strictly defined, he must have had difficulty identifying what was and was not socially acceptable. Actually he seemed to have shown ingenuity and steadiness in locating and keeping work. In addition, much of his apparent stupidity about institutional requirements might be attributed to the fact that he had never before been exposed to institutional living and was learning to adjust to this experience in a fairly sophisticated inmate population. Added to all these disorienting factors was the major psychological shock associated with his offense that had apparently shattered his sense of personal continuity. In general the staff group agreed that Wilbur's report of what he experienced inwardly was sufficiently congruent with the behavior they had observed to explain much that they had previously interpreted as deliberate efforts to annoy staff.

Out of this discussion with its fresh perspectives on an old problem, a strategy emerged with a place of importance for each staff member. The counselor would not try to establish a program of scheduled interviews at this time, but through frequent, more informal contacts with Wilbur would offer a warm, supportive relationship as a framework for handling the expected procedural difficulties with minimal excitement and threat. The work supervisor would explain duties patiently and would respond to the occasional hostile outbreaks with encouragement rather than by disciplinary write-ups. Meanwhile the counselor would search the institutional program for a job assignment in which Wilbur could learn, "where at first not too much would be demanded of him," and with a supervisor who could both understand his limitations and not take his occasional hostilities too seriously. The possibility of getting Wilbur into a remedial reading class with a woman teacher would also be explored. And finally, recognizing that peer relations were very important in the life of this isolated individual who was rapidly being trained by fellow inmates to become their clown, the officers and all other project staff would communicate in various ways to C Unit inmates that this was an individual to be protected rather than pilloried. At this point Wilbur would not be encouraged to take part in task or discussion groups. First group experiences should be like those provided by the Music Interest Group where Wilbur could participate on the fringe of activities. Other groups would be offered as he could move out of protected situations into those that demanded more coherent behavior from him. The treatment plan as it emerged combined both immediate protection for Wilbur and graded exposure to increased stress and responsibility over time, as well as access to official persons with whom Wilbur could talk about his disturbed feelings as he gained confidence in their desire to help.

At the end of the conference the staff shared a sense of closure, accomplishment, and hope. This good feeling increased the following week when reports began to come in from around the institution that Wilbur's behavior had "improved." When they considered what had happened, the staff agreed that surrounding a confused inmate with officials who understood how the independent activities of each were related to a larger treatment plan had made possible changed functioning on the part of both staff and inmate.

Teaching Unit III

SELECTED REFERENCES

Simon, Herbert A. Administrative Behavior. 2nd ed. New York: Macmillan, 1957.

Analyzes administration as the organization of decision-making processes at all levels of operation. Chapter 10 is particularly helpful in understanding the problem of worker loyalty to a specific function at the cost of more comprehensive values. Chapter 11 speaks to the conditions under which decentralization of decision-making becomes necessary in order to achieve the organizational goal.

Etzioni, Amitai. Modern Organizations. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1964. (Paperback $1.50)

A succinct discussion of different organizational patterns as they affect the productivity and happiness of the organization's members and consumers.

Levinson, Daniel J. "Role, Personality and Social Structure in the Organizational Setting," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology (March 1959), pp. 170-180.

Identifies "personal role definition," "the individual's role performance," and the "organizationally given role demands" as the determining components of organizational behavior. Discusses "the adaptive dilemmas" with which every organization confronts its members.

Stanton, Alfred, and Schwartz, Morris. The Mental Hospital. New York: Basic Books, 1954, pp. 244-291 and 479-484.

Analyzes different patterns for official decision-making in the mental hospital, showing effects on the functioning of both staff members and patients.

Henry, Jules. "The Formal Structure of a Psychiatric Hospital," Psychiatry, XVII, 2 (May 1954), pp. 139-152.

Discusses those characteristics of the mental hospital as a task-performing organization that contribute to poor staff operation and adversely affect the treatment of the patients. Analyzes the stress on staff arising from (1) the relative power of various administrative units with respect to each other; and (2) the lack of consensus among units about goals and methods.

Caudill, William. The Psychiatric Hospital as a Small Society. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958.

Studies one small psychiatric hospital as "the day-to-day personal relations of people—doctors, ward personnel and patients." First, the hospital social system is examined from the perspective of each group; then the interrelationships among these groups are traced to reveal the character of the hospital's social system. Section IV presents a small group analysis of administrative relationships in the hospital showing how these affect communication patterns among all organizational participants.

Greenblatt, Milton, Levinson, D.J., and Williams, R.H. (eds.). The Patient and the Mental Hospital. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957.

An excellent compilation of articles addressing organizational problems in mental hospitals. Analyzes such topics as ideological differences among groups of personnel, role strains experienced by each group, communication problems experienced by all, and the effect of such organizational problems on patients.

Perrow, C. "The Analysis of Goals in Complex Organizations," American Sociological Review, Vol. 26 (December 1961), pp. 854-866.

An important analysis of relationships among "task areas, authority structure and operative goals" in organizations. The author examines voluntary general hospitals to illustrate this approach to understanding the character of an organization, and briefly compares hospitals with nonvoluntary service organizations and profit-making organizations.

Zald, Mayer. "The Correctional Institution for Juvenile Offenders: An Analysis of Organizational Character," Social Problems, VIII (Summer 1960), pp. 57-67.

Helpful in understanding the organizational conflict sources of different kinds of personnel evident in many institutions for delinquents. (See Vignette 2.)

Ohlin, Lloyd E. "The Reduction of Role Conflict in Institutional Staff," Children, V, 2 (March-April 1958), pp. 65-70.

Reports a major reorganization in the relations between house parents and social workers in an institution for delinquent girls, and discusses the consequences of improved staff integration in the operation of different staff groups.

Piliavin, Irving. "Conflict between Cottage Parents and Caseworkers," The Social Service Review, XXXVII, 1 (March 1963), pp. 17-25.

Reports a study of conflicts between cottage parents and caseworkers in two institutions for delinquents and suggests that the sources for such conflicts are inherent in the way the organization has structured the relationship between these two groups of personnel.

Studt, Elliot, and Russell, Bernard. Staff Training for Personnel in Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Children's Bureau, No. 364, September, 1958.

Reports a workshop for training personnel in institutions for juvenile delinquents. The chief problem in staff training was identified as inability of different groups of staff to communicate with each other for the purpose of resolving jointly experienced problems. Proposes means by which staff training activities can promote more effective problem-solving relations among staff members.

Studt, Elliot. "The Client's Image of the Juvenile Court," Justice for the Child, M. Rosenheim (ed.). New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1962, pp. 200-216.

Suggests the processes by which patterns of agency organization affect the client's image of himself and his use of services.

Halleck, Seymour. "The Impact of Professional Dishonesty on Behavior of Disturbed Adolescents," Social Work, VIII, (April 1963), pp. 48-57.

Focused on the treatment relationship itself, this article discusses attitudes shared by many helping persons that present a dishonest version of adult life to the adolescent in treatment.

Blau, Peter M. "Structural Effects," American Sociological Review, XXV, 2 (April 1960), pp. 178-193.

Reports a research study of two worker units in a public welfare agency. Relationships are found between staff cohesion, communication among workers, and type of supervision on the one hand; and worker definition of service, frequency of contact with clients, and evaluation of clients on the other.

Jacques, Elliott. The Changing Culture of a Factory. New York: Dryden Press, Inc., 1952.

The author as both psychiatrist and sociologist reports an action research program designed to democratize staff relations in a small factory. Analyzes

the way relations among upper administrative levels and between organizational units affect the morale and productivity of staff members at the direct production level. Proposes principles for organizing these relations in the interest of "mature" performance on the part of all concerned, with special attention to communication pathways. Part III, "Analysis of Change" (see especially pp. 254-297) summarizes the findings and the proposed principles for organizing authority relations.

Human Organization, XXI, 2 (Summer 1962), whole issue. (Published by the Society for Applied Anthropology)

A special issue in which the first four articles are addressed to "The Change Process in Organizations," each paper followed by discussion among the participants.

Bruner, Jerome S. "The Conditions of Creativity," *Contemporary Approaches to Creative Thinking*, Gruber *et al*. (eds.). New York: Atherton Press, 1962. pp. 1-31.

Describes the emergence of small group organization in a unit of industrial inventors and the consequences for increased creativity in the work of each participant.

Benne, Kenneth D. "Deliberate Changing as the Facilitation of Growth," *The Planning of Change*, Bennis, Benne and Chin (eds.). New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961. pp. 230-234.

Analyzes the conditions under which planned change is initiated and supported, with special attention to the way in which change agents participate in this process.

ARROWHEAD CONFERENCE REPORT

Introductory Remarks

THE ARROWHEAD CONFERENCE brought together twenty-five social work educators to review provisional versions of the three teaching units. At that stage in the preparation of this volume, Teaching Unit I, "The Problem in Social Functioning," was entitled "Client Disability"; Teaching Unit II, "The Role of the Person to Be Served," was entitled "Client's Role"; and Teaching Unit III, "Treatment Decision-making" (the title of which remains the same), was second rather than third in the series.

The following report of the conference was written to show both the reactions of the participants to the initial stage of the document and the changes in perspective that occurred during the discussions. In the report the reader will find why the titles of the teaching units and the order of presentation were changed. The report of the conference stands as it was originally written even though additional reformulations have superseded it in the final version of these materials. (For instance, the conference report substituted the term "recipient of service " for "client" in Teaching Unit II. In the final version, "person to be served" has been used instead of "recipient of service.")

The value of the Arrowhead Conference Report for this volume lies in the elaboration of the three central concepts that emerged from the discussions. The many facets uncovered during the conference could not be presented adequately in the more formal structure of the introductions to each unit. The report is included here for the interest of the reader who would like to think through the complications of concept formulation with the Arrowhead participants.

E.S.

Participants

Miss Tessie Berkman, Graduate School of Social Work, New York University
Dr. Eileen Blackey, Dean, School of Social Welfare, University of California, Los Angeles
Dr. Joseph Scott Briar, School of Social Welfare, University of California, Berkeley
Dr. Maurice F. Connery, School of Social Welfare, University of California, Los Angeles
Mrs. Bess Dana, Consultant on Educational Services, Council on Social Work Education
Dr. Ralph Garber, Graduate School of Social Work, Rutgers, The State University
The Reverend Shaun Govenlock, Director, Ecole de Service Social, Université de Montréal
Dr. Mark Hale, Director, Graduate School of Social Work, University of Illinois
Mr. James Jennings, School of Social Welfare, University of California, Berkeley
Dr. Alfred Kadushin, School of Social Work, University of Wisconsin
Dr. Katherine A. Kendall, Executive Director, Council on Social Work Education
Mrs. Ida Oswald, School of Social Welfare, University of California, Berkeley
Miss Helen Mann, Director, School of Social Work, University of Manitoba, Canada
Mrs. Helen Harris Perlman, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago
Miss Dorothy E. Pettes, School of Social Welfare, University of California, Berkeley
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Dr. Arnulf Pins, Associate Director, Council on Social Work Education
Miss Marguerite Pohek, Consultant on Teaching Methodology and Materials, Council on Social Work Education
Dr. Charles Prigmore, Educational Consultant in Corrections, Council on Social Work Education
Mr. John Romanyshyn, Professor of Sociology, University of Maine
Miss Mildred Sikkema, Consultant on Educational Standards, Council on Social Work Education
Mr. John A. Wallace, Director of Probation, New York City Office of Probation
Dr. Kermit T. Wiltse, School of Social Welfare, University of California, Berkeley

Report of the Arrowhead Conference
May 20—22, 1964

THE ARROWHEAD CONFERENCE was called to engage thirty social work educators in considering how a field of social work practice can be conceptualized and taught in the basic social work curriculum. Although correctional teaching materials were used as illustrative data, the focus of the conference was on concepts proposed as useful for understanding and teaching any field of practice.

The Participants:

The participants were selected in order to bring together social workers with a wide range of practice and educational interests who also had some organizational responsibility for educational policy. Almost every function found in a school of social work was represented by deans, teachers in the human behavior and the environment sequence, classroom methods teachers, and those with primary responsibility for field instruction. At the same time most participants were also members of organizational units concerned in some way with educational policy, such as: the CSWE committees (Curriculum Teaching Materials, Field Instruction, Undergraduate Education, Accreditation); the NASW Council on Social Work Practice in Corrections; the University of California, Berkeley, Consultant Group to the Correctional Teaching Materials Project; the CSWE staff; and the Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. In the group, only three or four persons were specially oriented to correctional social work.[1]

However, the role of the conference participant was designed to play down immediate organizational responsibilities and to emphasize the involvement of each person as a professional individual in exploration, musing, and experimental juxtaposition of ideas. The conference was explicitly planned as a free time and place for creative interchange among persons who had, for the moment, been removed from their usual official roles and who were exposed to the viewpoints of others with whom they might not otherwise have exchanged ideas.

The participants were not asked to accept or reject the propositions offered in the sample teaching units, nor to take positions on either theoretical approaches or educational policy. They were asked to use the proposed concepts as the starting point for discussion and to follow the interests so stimulated wherever they might lead in considering social work practice theory and the implications of such theory for education. This kind of reflection on the subjects proposed by the sample teaching units was expected to provide the professional feedback necessary for revision of the materials prior to publication. But the goals for the conference extended further than the needs of this particular project. In conference planning the chief goal was to stimulate trains of thought that would be useful to each participant in his own work as an educator and that might be reflected in his perspectives as he acted to influence educational policy in the profession.

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[1] Three invitees were unable to attend because of personal emergencies. Two members of the Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, were expecting to attend but were forced to cancel at the last minute because of conflicts in schedule. The number actually attending was twenty-five.

The Schedule:

Five sessions were permitted by the two and one-half days' residence at Arrowhead Center. The first session consisted of a general orientation of the participants to each other and to the framework within which the conference task was defined. Three sessions were devoted to examination of the substantive issues raised by the three sets of teaching materials. The final session explored certain educational implications raised in the substantive discussions. All discussions were left open-ended, raising questions to be considered more thoroughly in the future by the various task groups related to professional education.

FIRST SESSION: ORIENTATION

The first issue concerned the larger conceptual framework within which the three concepts proposed for discussion--disability, decision-making, and client role--assume critical positions. What assumptions about the nature of social functioning and the goals of social work practice were implied in the general perspective? Why were these three concepts rather than others selected for illustration?

In response to such requests for locating the submitted materials in a larger framework, the project director sketched the process by which the study of correctional social work had necessarily led to an elaboration of social work theory about fields of practice. Twenty years ago corrections was not accepted by a sizable proportion of the profession as a legitimate field for social work practice, in spite of the fact that many individual social workers found in correctional agencies a congenial setting for helping in accordance with social work principles. At the same time efforts to develop a rationale for social work practice in corrections were handicapped by the fact that social work theory has until recently lacked a systematic model for defining any field of practice. Method has been used as the primary organizing idea for analyzing all kinds of practice, while field of practice formulations have often been treated as arising almost accidentally from the historical processes by which the community has established different service systems. Thus building practice theory for social work in corrections has required a simultaneous search for the dimensions by which any field of practice might be understood.

As soon as one thinks of how what happens between the social worker and his client is modified by the fact that this relation occurs in one field of practice rather than in another, one is struck by the way organizational factors in different agencies establish different expectations about what the social worker and client are to do together. Social workers have tended to think of these organizational differences as arbitrary or idiosyncratic, often resulting from unsympathetic administration or reflecting the requirements of a superordinate profession. On closer examination, however, it becomes evident that the basic differences among service organizations are themselves caused by the fact that different social problems have different meanings for the society in which they appear and therefore evoke different responses from all the related persons, including the social worker and his client.

Dimensions for Analyzing Any Field of Practice

Correctional social workers have tentatively proposed that two aspects of social reality interact together to determine the nature of any field of practice and the characteristics of social work practice within it.[2]

The first determining factor has been called the problem in social functioning.[3] In the ideal perspective such problems exist whether or not they are recognized and acted upon. They can be defined as any disruption in social relations that appears with regularity and that diminishes the health and welfare of individuals or of larger segments of the community. For action purposes, however, it is useful to restrict the definition of social problem to mean a regularly occurring disruption that has been identified by the official community as sufficiently general and hazardous to welfare to require some sort of organized remedial response.

The second factor in social reality that determines a field of practice has been termed the social task assumed by the community in responding to the problem and assigned to some organization or system of organizations for action in the name of the community. Social task can also be defined from two perspectives. Ideally, social task refers to what the community ought and must do to prevent the social problem and to rectify the damage to individuals and groups resulting from the problem's occurrence. In the more immediate action framework the social task denotes the explicit and implicit goals that the service organizations are authorized or expected to pursue in the course of their problem-management activities. At any one point in time the operational definition of social task represents the compromise achieved as competing interests in the community determine the focus and range of official activity in relation to that problem.

In our society, as a problem in social functioning emerges and is identified as warranting community action, some organization or system of organizations is established to deal with the problem. The assignment to such organizations often includes both preventive and remedial responsibilities. The characteristics of the organization will reflect the way the particular problem is socially perceived, e.g., widely dangerous to health or safety, economically disruptive, or disadvantageous to a limited number of individuals; the extent of community responsibility for change action accepted in the social task; and the means currently deemed appropriate for remedying the problem conditions, e.g., control by police action, medical care, financial provision, education, or psychological treatment. Out of these components the particular service organization's structure emerges as different from other organizations with different social tasks.

Some of these differences are quite basic. A certain kind of staff group is selected and within that staff a particular role for the social worker emerges. The individual whose problematic behavior has brought him to the attention of the agency is assigned a particular kind of organizational identity for the period during which he is served. Various kinds of associated decision-makers, rather than others, become relevant to the service process and therefore related to the organization. The relations among these official and nonofficial persons together form an identifiable service system consisting of the official organization, the people it serves, and the associated persons and agencies that are involved because of the nature of the particular social problem.

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[2] See "Report of the Subcommittee on Corrections as a Field of Practice to the NASW Commission on Social Work Practice," January, 1963, pp. 13-14. In that document what is here called the problem in social function was termed client need.

[3] As a result of the conference discussions, the phrase the problem in social functioning has been substituted for the term disability, used in Teaching Unit I.

As soon as the service system is established, it begins to operate as a third determining variable. As organizations with limited authorization begin to tackle those aspects of the problem that have been initially recognized, the "real" nature of the problem is more fully revealed. As the problem is officially experienced and more adequately documented, additional means for problem management may be proposed and new targets for interventive action identified. This enlarged and revised definition of the social problem sets in motion forces for further modifying the social task, with consequences in turn for the organization, the individuals served by the agency, the social worker dealing with them, and the associated decision-makers. Thus social problem, social task, and service system interact dynamically to determine the nature of any field of practice as it exists at a single point in time.

Thus any particular field of practice can be conceptualized as a flow of human activities involving dynamic interaction between multiple representatives of the community, those members of the community whose behavior is symptomatic of a certain problem in social functioning, and the organizations authorized to do something about that problem. This flow of activities, ostensibly designed to change the people whose behavior evidences the particular social problem, actually instigates changes in all the systems affected by and affecting the problem. This flow of human activity focused on a social problem is the social context within which the social work practice unit acts as one integral and dynamic part and from which it derives its field of practice characteristics.[4]

The Correctional Field of Practice

In analyzing corrections as a field of practice, the two proposed basic dimensions —problem in social functioning and social task—have been tentatively specified as follows:

The problem for correctional service is moral functioning. It consists of dysfunctional relations between individuals and society in which the conditions essential for moral behavior are not present.

The social task assigned to the correctional service system is at present best defined as protection of the community by resocialization of the offender. Resocialization implies not only change in the individual but also reconstruction of the community's response to the individual. Current activity to prevent delinquency and crime indicates a readiness to seek for a more comprehensive definition of the social task to include modification of those general social conditions that encourage moral deviations.

In corrections, the third variable, the service system, requires examination as to its current adequacy for addressing the problem of moral functioning and accomplishing resocialization. It is proposed that until the correctional service system is reorganized, the social task of resocialization cannot be accomplished and the efforts of social workers to deal with the moral problem will continue to be minimally effective. Furthermore, it is suggested that modifying the service system of corrections is the most direct means now available to social workers for introducing the required new dynamic into the total correctional process. Points in the correctional service system particularly needing attention have been identified as: the organization of all agency personnel for the resocialization task; the role of the social worker in the staff group; the organizational role of the offender in the service system; and the processes by which associated decision-makers are involved in the service system.

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[4] Perspectives developed in the course of the conference discussions have been fully utilized in writing the preceding formulation. There has been no attempt to reconstruct the original process in detail.

The submitted teaching materials offer propositions and illustrative data referring to three segments of this conceptual approach to correctional social work practice:

1. Unit I, hitherto labelled The Disability, proposes a social work process for diagnosing the problem in social functioning as it appears in the life of an individual offender.
2. Unit II, Treatment Decision-Making, addresses the problem of organizing official decision-makers for effective social work treatment.
3. Unit III, The Client Role, is concerned with the way the organizational role of the offender, as it is currently designed in the correctional service system, intensifies the very problem it is expected to treat.[5]

Plan of Work

During the discussion of the general conceptual framework, a rough diagram was drawn on the blackboard to illustrate the emergence of central concepts and their relation to each other. As the diagram was filled in, it became increasingly evident that this theoretical model for studying a field of practice is still in the stage of discovery. Not all the essential concepts have been identified; some have been identified but not satisfactorily named; and of those identified only a few have been operationalized sufficiently to permit the construction of illustrative teaching materials. Three of these are represented by the teaching units submitted to this conference.

With this brief introduction the participants quickly agreed on a plan of work. First there was consensus that:

1. It was not the business of this conference to examine or formulate a complete theory of problem behavior and its correction. This tentative, or approximate, state of theory is characteristic of all the behavioral sciences at this time, most especially of the practices. The unfinished state of the general model would therefore be accepted and the conference would give its attention to those concepts that had been tentatively proposed and documented for the purposes of this meeting. These would be accepted as orienting concepts in a general framework characterized by interactional analysis.
2. It was also clear that each of the submitted teaching units, although given the name of one concept, actually represents a set of subconcepts related by propositions. It is the nature of action, even when it is reported in a selective fashion, to reveal much more than a single abstraction. Similarly, it would not be possible to discuss one set of concepts without some reference to the others.

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[5] The Story of C Unit, a manuscript in preparation for the Russell Sage Foundation, reports an action project in a young men's reformatory addressed to the larger aspects of organization for service in a correctional institution. Propositions about the staff work group, the role of the social worker, and clients as treatment resources are elaborated in this document. Research activities were supported in part by NIMH grant MH 635-2.

With these general understandings, it was agreed that the propositions would be addressed in the order suggested by the three teaching units; and the next session's discussion would start with an examination of the nature of the disability.

In preparation for reviewing the set of diagnostic studies used as data in this teaching unit (I), the participants asked for further clarification about the list of questions proposed in the introduction as guides for the study of individual offenders. In response the project director reported her efforts in two research studies to identify the information essential to start acting as a social worker with a legally defined offender. Although the presented case studies were developed in a research study, the general outline of questions used in this guide are those used when she acts as a social worker responsible for taking action. It is important to note that—

1. These studies start with the assumption that offending behavior is a social phenomenon, an interaction between the individual and his personally significant community, to which both he and others contribute.
2. Although these studies are focused on the individual whose behavior has precipitated social action, the interviewer's attention is on how that individual perceives and interrelates with the significant others in his personal community.
3. The information gained in the use of this study guide does not purport to be a comprehensive study of the individual's total reality. It does, however, reveal points of leverage for intervention in the dysfunctional interaction that leads to offending behavior. This diagnostic process is not an effort to type an individual. Rather it is the first stage of developing a plan for intervention in the problem.

SECOND SESSION: THE NATURE OF THE DISABILITY

Much of this session was devoted to clarifying the language to be used for describing the interactional process of giving service in a system concerned with an identified social problem. Moral, disability, role, client, socialization, and resocialization were all examined and referred back to throughout this and later discussions. For instance:

Moral: This term was at first rejected because of contamination from popular usage to mean primarily sexual behavior. However, it was later reinstated with general agreement that moral is a strong and useful word, its Latin root meaning "social expectation" and implying a "good-bad" polarity. All social work is concerned in some way with behavior that diverges from a social norm; corrections is clearly focused on violations of the legal norms that protect in our society the basic social securities required for the moral life.

Disability: This term was strongly questioned for two reasons. It seemed to everyone to locate the problem to be treated in the client and to lack connotations referring to the interactional nature of the problem. Also, as it is used medically, disability tends to connote irreversibility.

Almost immediately the group decided to find a term for this "transactional x" about which the significant questions could be asked that would differentiate one field of service from another and one case from another. Although some suggested that the issue might be semantic, it was generally agreed that the terms used would matter both for understanding and for action. One set of terms might have the function of describing specifically and accurately what is; while other terms have implications for action, e.g., calling an offender "mentally ill" has different action consequences from calling him "criminal" whether or not either is accurate. Even where no one word proves adequate to denote a complex reality, it seemed essential for our discussion to agree upon the essential dimensions of that aspect of social reality to which we would be referring.

Problem in Social Functioning

This phrase was selected as a useful substitute for "disability" because it both makes explicit the interactional dimension and differentiates the social work problem from the more general term "problem" as it is used by any profession, e.g., lawyers, doctors, architects. Quickly a number of questions were listed for analyzing "problems of social functioning," a tentative paradigm that might be used profitably by any field of practice to describe the general nature of the social problems for which it is responsible. Such questions were:

What disabilities are associated with the problem?
How lasting are the effects?
What parts of the self are involved?
What is the client's degree of participation in initiating and maintaining the problem?
What social norms are violated by the problematic behavior?
What is the nature of the stigma attached to those involved in the problem?
What kinds of stress precipitate the problem and are associated with its continuance?
What "careers," or patterns of experiences, are characteristic for those brought into treatment because of the problem?

This last question precipitated considerable discussion about the time dimension inherent in a problem in social functioning. Are we speaking of the social problem etiologically, referring to the individual and social preparation for the emergence of the problem in behavior? Is the problem sometimes a response to a "crisis," an episode rather than the consequence of a gradual deterioration in social relations? Is it properly referred to as a problem only when behavior has been socially identified as problematic and persons are referred for treatment? To what extent is the problem different because it is dealt with normatively? What components are added to the problem by the fact of outside intervention? How much is the problem defined by the ideal state toward which intervention is directed?

There was general agreement that for any field of social work practice a problem in social functioning always implies etiological considerations, current role performance, and normative evaluation. Because social work is a practice, definition of the problem also always implies action toward change. A label, referring to a single point in this continuum, has the artificial effect of stopping action and focusing on one phase as though it were the total process.

Lacking any single word for this total process of problem development, from incipience to ideal resolution, the group agreed to keep the total "transactional x" in mind and to consider further that phase precipitated when the problem has been identified. It is at this point that the individual to be treated and the social worker confront each other for the purpose of remedial action and the social worker becomes responsible for defining the problem in terms that lead to action.

An important characteristic of the problem as it is presented to the responsible social worker is that the problem is no longer what it was before intervention was initiated. The person whose behavior has been defined by himself or someone else as less than socially adequate experiences stigma, more severe and pervasive in some fields of service than in others. He also assumes a new role whose expectations he may or may not be able to meet, with consequent strains and demands for learning. This new role has implications for his experiences in other roles more customary to him, with family, peers, other agencies, school, or employment. The new role configuration appearing because change action has been initiated is both an important component of the problem as it now presents itself and a major dynamic in work toward resolution of the problem.

The Recipient of Service:
The Individual Whose Behavior Reveals the Social Problem

At this point it became clear that the term client (referring to the person whose behavior initiates problem-solving action) was being used in more than one way throughout the discussion. For some participants the term client should be reserved for the relation between an individual and a professional person (in this case the social worker) in which there is a contractual agreement to use service. However, on many occasions during the discussion, the term client was being used to mean a relation between the individual and an agency authorized to give service for a particular problem, e.g., "welfare clients," "correctional clients." The question was posed, "Client of whom? Is he a client of the agency or of the social worker?"

This question was not resolved during this session. However, it was agreed that even if the term client is reserved to mean a person in a professional role relation with a social worker, there is still another, more inclusive organizational role for the recipient of service that must be recognized because it so obviously affects what happens to the individual and to his experience as client. Not all recipients of service become clients of social workers, but all participate in some way in the organized flow of activities by which society deals with the social problem. It was noted that there is at present no general social work term for this "membership in the organization" or "organizational identity" that is achieved or ascribed to the individual as soon as he is officially accepted as "one who has a problem to be dealt with by this agency." Each agency tends to use its own general term such as "offender" in corrections, "inmate" in an institution, "recipient" in public welfare, "member" in a group service agency, or "patient" in a medical facility; and anyone of these individuals may or may not become also a client of a social worker while participating in that service system. However, it was tentatively agreed that this organizational "middle status or role-set" has major consequences for the individual's service experience and for the effectiveness of the social work treatment that he may receive.

The Social Worker's Role

The session ended with a series of wide-ranging questions about the implications for the role of the social worker when he is asked to take the organizational identity of his client into account. In fact some tinge of dismay was evident as the issues were raised. For instance:

1. If the role of the social worker is to help people perform vital roles in ways that are socially acceptable, the social worker must have some control over the way other agency roles impinge on the professional service. The social worker can exercise this control only by authority of the agency and when seen by everyone as having this function.

2. If the social worker accepts this larger responsibility, his role is necessarily defined much more broadly than the management of a one-to-one or one-to-group therapeutic relationship. What are the implications for educating students to assume this role?

3. Do we now know enough about how to perform such a role so we can teach it? At this point social workers are seldom given the authority implied in such a role; rather we tend to "bootleg" or insinuate ourselves into as influential positions as we can manage. Do we train the student for the traditional, insinuating role or to be a mediator in a larger framework? There is a major difference between exhorting the student to be influential and teaching him how to perform such a role.

4. Are we assuming that the social worker has to be the administrator of the agency? Do we know how to manage agencies in a way that makes the organizational experience itself a service process? Or are we even asking that all social workers become community organizers at the same time that they give service to individuals?

5. Or are we rather identifying a "middle organizational role" for the social worker (similar to the "middle organizational role of the client") that includes responsibility for the professional helping relation, plus leadership with related staff persons, plus representing the agency service with members of the client's personal community? Isn't this kind of "dabbling in the environment that impinges on the professional relation" already happening in most of our agencies? Should not these processes, therefore, be made explicit and prepared for in education?

The final note of the discussion was determined:

> We have to be concerned with the nature of the social matrix within which we give service to individuals. This involves the more explicit formulation of a social philosophy governing practice with the individual. And as we move to claim authority in the organizational matrix of service, "we had better make sure we have the competence to exercise that authority."

THIRD SESSION: THE CLIENT ROLE

By this time it had become clear to everyone that tackling what was meant by the client role was essential in order to proceed with the discussion. By common agreement, the decision-making topic was postponed until the "client" issue was clarified. Accordingly the session began with the showing of the videotape "The Professional Patient: As Sick as They Say I Am" in order to complete the documentation of the potential dysfunctions in certain recipient of service roles as they are now designed.

In general it was agreed that the individual to be served is related within the particular service system through a set of roles each of which is affected by the fact that the problem has been identified and is being acted upon. This set of service-related roles might be termed the individual's organizational identity because the organization of the agency establishes certain general expectations for the individual and for the way in which all others in the service system will relate to him.

This set of organization-related roles established for the individual to be served is most easily identified in an institution where many different kinds of agency-employed personnel relate to a single individual in the normal course of the service process. Thus an inmate in an institution may be a client of the social worker, a patient of the doctor, a student in the school program, a workman in vocational training, a supervisee of several custody personnel, and a member in a peer group. Outside the institution, however, this set of service-related roles is equally evident as soon as the situation of the individual to be served is examined from this point of view. For instance, in Teaching Unit II, the case of ANN (a girl on parole) shows that her service-related roles included not only that of client of social worker but also those of member of family, student of school, supervisee of police, recipient of welfare, and inmate of a detention home. All of these roles were affected in some way by the fact that the girl had an "organizational identity" as a "parolee"; and all of them had some effect on the correctional service process.

In spite of these general agreements, the conference participants found it difficult to disentangle the client role (relation with social worker) from the more comprehensive organizational identity role. Almost inevitably they drifted into discussing how the social worker manages the relationship between himself and the individual client, even when attempting to focus on how the organizational identity could be designed to facilitate the service impact of all the subroles. Two factors contributed to this occasional confusion. We lacked one general word to mean any recipient of agency service. And because our leverage as social workers has been traditionally restricted to the management of the client role, we have more highly developed formulations for describing the professional one-to-one or one-to-group process than for discussing how to design the individual's "membership in the agency." In spite of these language difficulties several organizational factors impinging on who the recipient of service is in the service system were identified and somewhat elaborated.[6]

1. The role in the service system assigned to the individual needing help establishes a set of expectations of that individual that are assumed by all members of the agency and other service-related persons in their relations with him. These expectations also affect how that individual is perceived by others who know he is an official recipient of service. Such a set of expectations constitutes a powerful social force influencing the individual's self-image, his sense of who he is in the larger community, his feelings of self-worth, and his orientation toward getting help.

2. All recipient of service roles carry certain kinds of penalties, if only because the individual is putting at least part of himself in the hands of others who, for that function, assume a superordinate position Each field of practice needs to be clear about just what penalties are inherent in the task, e.g., the problems adoptive parents are apt to face. The exact nature of these penalties should be made explicit for both the recipient of service and those others whose activities are affected by his role in the service system.

3. Redesigning the recipient of service role is necessary not only to "take the bad out of the role" and to eliminate non-essential penalties but also in order to manage the stress inherent in the role as a dynamic for inducing learning and growth. The propositions offered on pages two and three of Teaching Unit III are principles suggested as necessary for accomplishing these goals through the design of the recipient of service role.

Additional principles of role design were suggested: (a) The general terms of the recipient of service role should be clear and unambiguous; what is expected of him should be explicit. (b) A variety of potential roles for the recipient of service should be provided by an organization so the social worker can ask different things of different clients. Thus the helper will not be expected to place impossible demands on individuals who can use one aspect of the service but not others.

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[6] Following the intent of the conference—if not its practice—this report will use the term recipient of service to refer to the individual as he is related to everyone in the service system; and client to mean a recipient of service who has also entered into a professional relation with a social worker.

4. It is especially important that the design of the recipient of service role say to the individual: "You are not helpless. You do have a contribution to make to your own life and to the lives of others." Organizational mechanisms encouraging the individual to act on this assumption about himself in all his relations with other persons in the service system are required to make such an assertion effective in the service process.

5. All recipient of service roles should provide for transition through stages as appropriate to the nature of the problem and the individual's presentation of the problem. One of the transitional processes to be provided for in many public agencies is the move from recipient of service to recipient of service who is also client of social worker. Within the client role there will be additional provisions for moving through phases as the nature of the problem becomes specified and agreed upon. Some recipient of service roles are not expected to terminate because of the nature of the problem; and this fact must be taken into account in the design of the role.

6. Voluntary and involuntary roles for recipients of service require appropriately different designs. The involuntary role may need to provide a more complex and lengthy transition phase before the recipient of service and the social worker can agree about the nature of the problem to be dealt with. With the involuntary recipient the helper should be left free by agency rules to use any idea the individual may have about the nature of help as a point of entry for establishing the client relationship, no matter how distant that idea may seem at first from the social work definition of help.

FOURTH SESSION: DECISION MAKING

Once the individual to be served had been clearly perceived as occupying not simply the client role but also a more comprehensive set of service-related roles, the conference participants found it easier to formulate the way associated decision-makers should participate in the total service process. However, the problems raised were tough on all accounts. The difference between this discussion and earlier attempts lay in the across-the-board acceptance by the conference participants that the service system has to organize to make coherent decision making possible if the social work aspect of the service is to be effective.

Problems tackled (but not resolved) included:

1. Can a coherent work group of official decision-makers be activized in the open community? In the institution one has relatively easy access to employees of the agency. In the open community the significant decision-makers may represent many different agencies, unrelated among themselves and scattered geographically. Proposals for eliminating unnecessary complexity included: assigning case loads by geographical districts that are also used by other related service agencies; reconsidering the organizational efficiency of the single-function agency as against the multiple-function agency.

2. When more than one agency is service related, who is responsible for convening the decision-making work group? Two principles for assuming this responsibility were proposed. In certain kinds of practice the convener tends to be the worker who is most significantly engaged in problem resolution. Alternatively the worker representing the most comprehensive legal responsibility for the individual to be

served might appropriately take the initiative. Implied in the discussion was the principle that the professional social work role should always include responsibility for identifying service-related decision-makers and for facilitating appropriate interchange among them.

3. *What happens when a significant decision-maker refuses to participate with others*? In answer to this question it was proposed that it is the responsibility of the service *organizations* to make this kind of withdrawal impossible. "The service organization must be such that it is better for the resistant decision-maker to count himself in."

4. *What about blocks to communication among relevant decision-makers*? Decision-makers from one agency tend to have unrealistic expectations about what should be the performance of other agency decision-makers, e.g., the police expect probation agencies to correct the behavior of delinquents overnight or teachers are mad because the guidance clinic doesn't solve all the problems of the children they referred. Often the vested interests of one agency—especially short-term interests—conflict with the interests of another. Areas of agency power to act are usually ambiguous, since the source of power is the constituency. Sometimes areas of powerlessness are not revealed until a crisis occurs, e.g., a child dies because no agency can require a mother to provide him with medical care. In connection with this discussion someone questioned: What made the various workers in Ann's case become a work group for the purpose of service? The response was that, once the various decision-makers were perceived as service relevant, the definition of the problem began to change. (Side comment: "Shades of Mary Richmond.") Given this broader definition of the problem, the different problems as they were defined by the individual workers were seen in the context of a total strategy that could use the different kinds of problem-solving activity provided by each.

5. *What about decision-makers with different levels of competence*? How can you know the competence of lower levels of workers and establish controls for their activities, especially in the open community situation? In response to this problem it was suggested that both competence and control can derive from the task group of decision-makers who together share responsibility for doing something about the problem. This task group must survey its resources, distribute the subtasks, and provide a reference group for the performance of the individual decision-maker as he tackles his aspect of the problem.

Throughout the discussion the general problem was defined as: How do we structure services to maximize the good effects that we want to achieve? We were *not* asking, How do we staff all service positions with professional social workers? Rather we were concerned with: How can we organize service systems so it is easier for every related human being to make his best possible contribution to the service process? What kind of an agency organization makes it most possible for the professional social worker at the direct service level to evoke in action latent and positively oriented decision-making work groups whenever they are needed by the case situation?

In summary of part of the discussion, the problem of *organizing for service* was thrown into historical perspective. Before the days of the industrial revolution people organized for group tasks according to a *traditional* pattern, characterized by patrilinear succession of authority and ritualistic performance of tasks. With the increasing complexity of tasks and the increased importance of technical skills, a more *rational* form of organization emerged, known generally as *bureaucracy*, and characterized by hierarchical authority assigned according to competence and exercising control over lower decision-makers through rules. In general, social work has accepted the bureaucratic form of organization and has tried to create a free spot inside this organization for helping activities. However, this form of organization is in many ways incapable of providing the conditions of work required by "people-changing" tasks. The work to be done is neither visible nor directly supervisable. One worker is not actually substitutable for another no matter how comparable their competence. Correct decisions are too complex to be made according to rules and must be made in direct response to unanticipated combinations of personal and social factors as they appear in the immediate situation. What is needed is an organization that is designed to make good social work possible; and one of the characteristics of this organization will be that it creates a strain toward coherent rather than conflictual decision-making.

Social work is not alone in needing this new form of organization; and evidences of its emergence can be found in many segments of our society, wherever the product of work is such that decisions must be made on the spot creatively rather than by rule and under supervision. Such tasks—group invention in industry, teaching in schools, social work in an agency—require an organization that maximizes the creativity of each individual by providing him with problem-solving task groups as his resource for developing competence, sharing responsibility, and controlling performance. This may be a less stable form of organization than bureaucracy, in that it requires a particular kind of administrative leadership to maintain the creative problem solving process in action. Because such an organization must be committed to the flexible use of many kinds of human resources and must be able to change its responses to persons who are expected to change, the system itself undergoes a continuous process of change. But only such an organization can encompass and facilitate the flow of human activities necessarily involved in the service process when the goal of work is various forms of human socialization and resocialization. What social work has to do if the work of the individual social worker is to be effective is to create an agency structure within which good social work can be practiced.

The last question of the evening prepared the way for the next day's discussion of educational implications: One part of this we know how to do. We can teach the student to define the problem in this more comprehensive fashion. However, we do not yet know what to do about the problem when it is so defined. Is it legitimate to ask students to practice what we don't yet know how to do?

FINAL SESSION: EDUCATIONAL PERSPECTIVES

The final session might have been entitled "Where do we go from here?" A first issue concerned how the proposed teaching materials should be introduced to social work educators who would not have had the background of elaborated analysis provided for the participants by the conference discussion. The task seemed not to be just a matter of distributing new teaching materials set within a conceptual framework, but rather the inculcation of a positive attitude toward a new way of seeing the realities that are pertinent for social work practice.

Various means were proposed for developing readiness to use the materials. Since this body of material utilizes the concepts of self and role as major tools in understanding human functioning, and since these concepts are not yet consistently integrated within our traditional social work framework, the teaching units might appropriately be presented first in growth and development courses in order to prepare students for later use of these concepts in practice. There was some thought that the materials should be released slowly through experimentation in schools where the faculty members are already oriented to this approach; or prepared for by workshops that could duplicate in part the Arrowhead Conference discussion. Still another suggestion was that a much more elaborate framework statement should be prepared, making explicit how the new concepts are linked with the more familiar social work formulations. And there was general agreement that orientation of field instructors should accompany use of the materials by classroom teachers because the ideas imply immediate use in action.

On the other hand there were voices urging that the readiness of social work educators to appreciate and use new perspectives should not be underevaluated. After all, these materials do not purport to be a complete substitute for already tested ways of looking at behavior; and we should therefore not approach their introduction as though "the baby had to be thrown out with the bath." Furthermore, students are always being asked to utilize contrasting viewpoints as they learn from different field work instructors and classroom teachers. The present state of knowledge about human behavior is characterized by different and even conflicting theoretical approaches; and students inevitably have to come to terms with uncertainty and make their own integrations for the purpose of action. If these materials represent a truly different framework they should be presented as such, as one of the currently competing formulations about the dimensions of behavior that are significant for practice. In response there were two warnings. Students must not be asked to do all the work of integration and teachers must at least make the nature of the conflicts explicit, showing the students how to reconcile them in action. It is also important not to present students with "grand theories," leaving them to supply the mediating concepts necessary for use in action. Teachers must therefore formulate the linking operational theory that makes ideas applicable to practice. A final comment pointed out that up to this point we had spoken of the "new" as only disjunctive and conflictual; whereas there is much in the framework of these teaching materials that is already familiar in practice developments even if it has not hitherto been spelled out theoretically.

Throughout this discussion there were questions about just what is so "new" about the approach represented by the materials? Just what aspects of the formulation would a reasonably competent supervisor have difficulty with? There was general agreement that, in distributing the materials for educational use, what it is that is "new" must be spelled out and the links to current formulations made explicit.

In response to this emphasis, the project director reported how she saw these materials in relation to social work practice theory. For her, they build upon and extend the social work she learned in school twenty years ago and in the years between; they represent neither a break with social work foundations nor a radical departure. In her perspective only three things are "new" about these materials; and each reflects a deliberate effort to operationalize realities we already take into account in all of our practice theory.

1. These materials focus on the link between intrapsychic and social factors in functioning. Although we teach that the link is there, it is often not made visible in teaching materials. These materials make no pretense of elaborating or documenting any single theory about intrapsychic dynamics or about social dynamics. However the particular worker chooses to explain the functioning of the psyche and the operation of social systems for himself, he can use such theoretical formulations in his use of these materials. The materials themselves only ask him to take the next intellectual step and to examine how psyche and social system operate together to produce behavior.

2. In addition, social work has translated theories of behavior into practice theory in a lopsided fashion. Up to this point we have primarily utilized intrapsychic theories in practice theory referring to the management of the treatment relationship. Then we have said, "and, of course, you also manipulate the environment," leaving unspecified the techniques by which environmental management becomes equally professional in the sense of "understood, selective, and goal directed." These materials represent an attempt to formulate how the professional social worker can examine the relevant environment and "manipulate external reality" with the same kind of responsible understanding of dynamics and precision of action that he expects of himself in managing the helping relationship.

3. Finally, the materials are a deliberate attempt to prepare teaching materials that highlight certain concepts, in contradistinction to teaching materials that present the flow of action and leave both teacher and student to select from a myriad of potential concepts those on which he will focus. There is no suggestion that "concept highlighting" teaching materials are the only kind needed; simply that such materials can be used to help students perceive how concepts appear in action. Exposure to such selectively illustrated abstractions in the classroom should increase the student's ability to select the aspects of reality to which he should attend when he is dealing with the raw data of action in practice.

This specification of the "new" as perceived by the writer helped to clarify the process by which these materials might be introduced more widely in social work education. There were comments to the effect that there is actually no conflict between social interaction theory and "ego psychology" as it is now being formulated and taught. All that is asked by these materials of the student is that he give up the "skin-encapsulated ego" and clothe the person—whether client or social worker or associated decision-maker—in the meaningful social reality that helps to determine his behavior. The materials therefore offer a "perceptual bridge" between psyche and social. We believe these two aspects of reality belong together in life and see them operating inextricably in action, while our theories have tended to polarize them as unrelated abstractions. We have just as much responsibility to formulate the dynamic links between them as to understand the internal dynamics of each.

Three major action implications were outlined for the future:

1. This approach has implications for every part of the social work curriculum. If interactional analysis is to be introduced into methods teaching the conceptual tools should also be provided in courses concerned with theory about personal and social systems. Field instruction should be equally well prepared to help the student see his current practice reality in interactional terms. Social welfare organization should also be taught in terms of dynamic systems of human activities rather than as administrative structures somehow belonging to a different world, uninfluenced by psychic and social dynamics. Perhaps even the relations among the several sections of the curriculum should be examined to discover how coherent rather than segmented educational impact can be achieved.

2. One of the main problems to be anticipated involves finding or creating the kind of service organizations in which students and graduates can practice the use of interactional concepts. To some extent student units in the field can be used as laboratories; and the combined classroom-field instruction experiment conducted at the University of California, Berkeley, this last year was described. It was, however, agreed that we need a more comprehensive approach in the long run. Two directions for development were agreed upon as crucial. High priority should be assigned to

developing special agency units devoted to experiment, teaching and research in practice. And the administrators of agencies where students are being introduced to new practice concepts should be actively involved in studying the implications of these concepts for agency operation.

3. Finally, if teachers and students are asked to examine human functioning in interactional terms, there are implications not only for how agencies are organized but also for how schools of social work are organized. Should not students as well as clients be given a role in which contribution as well as learning is expected and appropriate participation in decision-making is encouraged? Raising the status of the client role will automatically imply an organizational expansion in the roles of everyone related to clients. Social workers and students as well as clients need to be "clothed" in a social reality that invites open expression of creativity.

In summary, it was agreed that the main contribution of interactional theory is to refine and expand our understanding of the middle ground of functioning between the lone individual and the larger social structures in which he has membership. The implications of these ideas for action all lead toward the planned provision of mediating roles—more naturally available in simpler societies—by which the membership of the individual in larger systems takes on the warmth and richness of significant human interchange around a task. In the impersonal organizational world imposed by our complex society, social work must create in its agencies and schools the mediating structures by which such necessary resources become available to the individual if we are to enrich the human functioning of either students, clients, or practicing social workers.

This report necessarily omits many of the illuminating formulations achieved during the conference. The informal discussions occurring around the dinner table or on the patio while relaxing in the sun often went more deeply into one or another topic than was possible when the larger group was convened in formal sessions. These small group reflections influenced what went on in the general forum but the detail of the ongoing debate could not be captured in full. Perhaps some participants, reading this overschematic report of "social interaction" as it occurred during three days at Arrowhead, will be moved to fill in one or another facet, ignored in this summary but vividly remembered by himself. Such contributions to the final report will be welcomed and used.

Summary of the Arrowhead Conference

- I. Nature of Social Functioning
  - A. Concern is with social interaction or transaction. Focusing concepts are status, role set, and reciprocal role behavior.
  - B. Implicit in any discussion of "disability" or problem in social functioning is some concept of both adequate social functioning and some notion of forces that encourage acceptable as well as unacceptable functioning. Thus we need to be just as curious about "conforming" as about "deviant" behavior.
    - 1. Adequate social functioning requires that individuals play vital social roles in personally satisfying and socially adequate ways.
    - 2. Why should people behave in socially acceptable ways? (Miller and Swanson)
      - a. When people are part of a network of relationships which are mutually gratifying, they learn to adapt their behavior to rules essential for maintaining these relationships.
      - b. Such behavior may be called "moral," i.e., adaptive to "moral norms" essential for maintaining the relationships. In this sense "moral" behavior is behavior that takes into account the needs and expectations of others.
      - c. (It may be argued that this is far from an adequate definition of "morality." All social relationships, e.g., tenant farmer-landowner; crime syndicate; "corrupt" political machine, are maintained by the same dynamics.)
    - 3. What is required for adequate or acceptable social functioning? Both opportunity and competence for participation in the kind of social relationships that will encourage adherence to the dominant norms of the community.
- II. Problems in Social Functioning
  - A. Need to ask not only who defines it as a "problem," but also by what norms? Does the "client" define his behavior as a problem in the same way as the social worker, or the dominant community?
  - B. Such problems may be products of "distorted social relationships," resulting in both deprivation of means and lack of inner competence. In correctional clients and possibly with others, such problems may be seen in terms of the "moral" orientation of the client, i.e., his capacity to satisfy his needs by taking into account the needs of others, as well as the community's "moral" dealing with him with respect to availability of the opportunity structure. Client "disability" may be seen in terms of inadequate, distorted, or restricted role repertoire.
  - C. Such "problems" may be compounded by client status and role.
- III. Implications for Social Work Intervention
  - A. If one defines the client's problem in terms of social functioning, the social work focus becomes one of helping to restructure social relationships that impinge on the life of the client. The target becomes both the client and those

significant others who are in a position to make relevant decisions affecting the life of the client.

B. Intervention may be at three levels:
   1. Direct service with focus on enabling the client to play social roles more effectively (this may mean teaching him to play according to the rules of the game—e.g., don't sass the policeman and you don't get arrested); on helping relevant decision-makers behave in ways that will support client change; and on designing client role in ways that will reduce penalty and facilitate more adequate social functioning.
   2. Designing agency structure that will facilitate and coordinate effective decision-making. Implications are for more flexible structures.
   3. Social policy and system intervention, designed to increase opportunities for new kinds of social relationships, e.g., economic opportunities that allow new work roles.

IV. Implications for Social Work Education

A. Dilemma: We can redefine the "problem" but may not be able to provide students with the new kinds of skills needed. How do we educate for innovation in social work methods?

B. Implications for curriculum change with some recognition of "stability in the midst of change," e.g., need for greater emphasis on "social interaction" in human growth and development courses. On the other hand, "ego psychology" may not be in conflict with this point of view. Instead it may enlarge the student's horizon and permit him to see more clearly the kind of life experiences with significant others in the present as well as the past that influence the development of attitudes, "needs," and values. We may, however, have to give up the notion of a "skin-encapsulated ego." At the same time, though social work desperately needs an "integrated view of man," there really is none available at the moment.

C. Any new view must be successfully communicated to field supervisors.

D. How do we structure the educational experience of the student so that he can participate in relevant decision-making?